

with Psalm 44, 10; in the zone below are prophets Moses, St. Uarus, Gregory of Agrigentum and the righteous Job; two zones further down are filled with scenes of the Menologion which begin on the west side with September 1st (on the distribution of these scenes in Gračanica V. R. Petković, *Iz crkvenog kalendara u živopisu Gračanice*, GSND XIX, 1938, 79–86; Mijović, *Menolog*, 11–15, 285–307, sh. 17–30; Todić, *Gračanica*, 99–106); in the zone with half-figures are Sts. Valerius and Smaragdus, Ecdicius, Clement, Gorgonios and Priscus; in the bottom zone are Christ (his head repainted), Sts. Sabas Stratelates, Pathapios and Basil the Great.

The piers. North-east pier of the space beneath the dome, top register: archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation, prophet Solomon with a scroll (Wisdom 31, 29), Sts. Patapios, Barachesios; further down is another zone of figures of saints: prophet Aaron, righteous Noah, Niphon, Nicander; lower still are two zones with scenes from the Menologion as well as half-figures of Sts. Candidus and Cyrion, martyrs Nicholas and Elias, Modestos, John and Domnus, finally, in the bottom zone is the Virgin with Christ as well as Sts. John Chrysostomos, Antipas and Polyeuctos.

The piers. South-west pier of the space beneath the dome: in the top register are Sts. Theophilos, Darius, prophet Habakkuk and prophet Zechariah; further down is a register with the figures of Sts. Charalempes, Galaction, prophets Daniel and Zachary; lower still are two zones with scenes from the Menologion; further down is the zone of half-figures with representations of Sts. Barus, Galaction, Marcian and Martyrius; in the bottom zone are saints Menas, Arethas, apostle Peter and archangel Michael.

The piers. North-west pier of the space beneath the dome: in the top register is an unknown martyr, prophet Joel, prophet Amos and St. Hyacinthus; in the zone below is the holy pope Bastus (?), prophet Samuel, the righteous Melchizedek and St. Sylvester; further down are two registers with scenes from the Menologion and below them a zone of half-figures: an unknown martyr, St. Florus, another unknown martyr and St. Theodoulos; finally, in the bottom register are figures of St. Sergius, archangel Gabriel, apostle Paul and St. Gourias.

Pier on the south side (south wall). On the arch connecting it with the west wall are half-figures of Sts. Clement and Agathangelos and on the one connecting it with the south-west pier of the space beneath the dome those of St. Elidios and an unknown martyr. Further down are two registers with scenes from the Menologion and below them a zone of half-figures of St. Papyrus and Carpus, Bonifacius, John the Soldier and Cyprianus; in the bottom register are full figures of St. Hermolaos, James the Persian, Virgin Mediatrix and Ignatios Theophoros.

Pier on the north side (north wall). On the arch connecting it with the west wall are half-figures of Sts. Cyrus

and John. Further down are two registers with scenes from the Menologion and below them a zone with half-figures of Sts. Castor and Cansul, Sozon, Cleonicus and Philemon; in the bottom register are figures of Sts. Bacchus, Abibus, Nicholas and Samonas.

Passageways connecting the naos and the narthex.

Central passageway. From the image of Christ upheld by cherubim and blessing with both hands, painted at the centre of the intrados, two angels with crowns fly towards queen Simonida ("Simonida the Queen Palaiologina, daughter of Emperor Andronikos") king Milutin with a model of the church ("Stefan Uroš, faithful to Christ God, by the mercy of God sovereign King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, and ktetor").

South passageway. On the vault and the upper registers of the walls are scenes from the Menologion. In the zone of half-figures are representations of: Sts. Plato, Romanus, Photios, Anicetas, Victor, Vicentius, Manuel, Sabel and Ishmael and, on the north wall, those of Sts. Antalias, Joseph and Acepsimas. In the bottom zone, single standing figures of saints can be seen only on the south wall: Sts. Eustrathios, Auxentius, Eugenios, Mardarios, Orestes and Andronicos (?).

North passageway. On the vault and the upper registers of the walls are scenes from the Menologion. In the zone of half-figures, on the south wall, are representations of Sts. Sampson, Idyomedes and Thallelaios and, on the north, Sts. Nicholas the New, Hyacinthus, Blasios, an unknown martyr, Tryphon, Zoticus, Lucian and Eudocimos. In the bottom register are single figures of saints, on the north wall: Sts. Thecla, Euphemia, Kyriaki and Barbara (on the socle is a painted cross with the letters  $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{N}}$ ), while the figures on the south wall were repainted in the XVI century.

### Narthex

South-west dome. In the calotte is a half-figure of evangelist Mark with an open gospel book (Mark 1, 1–2), surrounded by five angels with globes and sceptres; in the drum are eight Old Testament kings: David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram and Ozias; at the bottom of the drum, on the pendentives (with disks painted between them) and on the walls beneath them are representations of saints which belong to the Menologion.

North-west dome. In the calotte is a half-figure of evangelist Matthew surrounded by five angels with globes and sceptres; in the drum are eight Old Testament kings and righteous men: Joatham, Ahaz, Manasseh, Ammon, Josiah, Joshua, Joseph the Beateous and Hezekiah; at the bottom of the drum, on the pendentives (with disks painted between them) and the walls beneath them are parts of the Menologion.

The vaults. On the east side of the barrel vault are representations of several days of the Menologion and on the west a part of the Last Judgement. In the centre of the



groin vault is the Hand of the Lord with the souls of the righteous and a ray of light beaming from it towards the east wall while choirs of angels appear in the corners.

The walls. On the north side of the east wall there are two Old Testament scenes in the uppermost register: prophet Elijah killing the priests of Baal and the righteous Job on the dunghill; in the central register are half-figures of holy monks: Neilus, Sampson, John Calybites, Joasaph and Barlaam, and in the bottom zone Christ Emmanuel (originally crowning king Milutin and his son Konstantin) offering monastic habits to queen Jelena as a nun ("St. Jelena the most exalted and sovereign Queen") and king Uroš as a monk ("St. Stefan Uroš King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, grand son of St. First-Crowned King Stefan" – sic). Above the central entrance is a half-figure of Christ the Terrible Judge with an open book (John 8, 12). On the south side of this wall is the Nemanjid family tree blessed by Christ: in its bottom zone is St. Symeon surrounded by St. Sava ("Sava") and Vukan ("Vuk, son of Nemanja"), above them Stefan Prvovenčani ("Stefan the First-Crowned King, son of Nemanja") surrounded by Sava II ("Sava Archbishop, son of Stefan the First-Crowned King"), Vukan's son Stefan ("Stefan, son of Vuk"), Radoslav ("Radoslav, son of Stefan the First-Crowned King") and Vladislav ("... of the First-Crowned King"), further up is Uroš I ("Uroš King, son of the First-Crowned King Stefan") surrounded by Milutin's sister Prnjača ("Brnjača, sister of the King"), Milutin's brother Dragutin ("Stefan, brother of the King"), Dragutin's sons Urošić ("Urošić, son of Stefan") and Vladislav ("Vladislav, son of Stefan"), while in the top register we find Milutin ("Uroš King") with angels offering him the crown and loros, surrounded by his children Konstantin ("Kostadin, son of King Stefan") and Carica ("Carica, daughter of the King"). Below the Menologion on the south wall are images of martyrs (cf. south passageway). Practically the entire surface of the west wall is taken up by the Last Judgement; only the south part of this wall is decorated with half-figures of holy martyrs Neophytos and Benedict and the north with an image of an unknown martyr while Menologion scenes appear below them. The Menologion continues on the north wall and there are several other half-figures below it: an unknown martyr, Sts. Julitta and Kyricus, and in the bottom register parts of the Last Judgement followed by half-figures of martyrs and full figures of holy women (cf. north passageway).

### Gallery Chamber

The vault was decorated with representations of Presentation of the Virgin and, perhaps, Presentation of Christ in the Temple. On the front walls, on the east side, were prophets Samuel and Aaron with a cross ( $\Phi$   $\bar{X}$   $\Phi$   $\Pi$ ) inscribed in a circle between them and, on the west, Moses and the high priest Zachary flanking a cross ( $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{C}$   $\bar{X}\bar{C}$   $\bar{N}\bar{\Gamma}$   $\bar{K}\bar{A}$ ). In the lunette above the two-light window on

the east is an image of St. Symeon the Stylite and that of St. Daniel the Stylite above the corresponding opening on the opposite side. Only damaged single figures remain on the walls: two monks on the east wall and St. Luke (of Stiris) and Macarios on the west. On the inner surfaces of the two-light window on the east wall are two leaved crosses, painted side by side – partly preserved letters of a cryptogram  $\Phi$  ( $\bar{X}$ )  $\Phi$  ( $\Pi$ ) have been preserved by one of them.

### South parekklesion

The dome. In the summit is a half-figure of evangelist John surrounded by three celestial powers in the guise of thrones; in the drum are frontally positioned figures of holy bishops: Atticus, Flavian, Cyprianus, Paul, Achilleios, Michael, Leo and Tarasios; below them are four seraphim; on the walls are figures of other saints: Epimachos and Clement, Sozon and Hyppolitus, Anastasios and Anatolios and Leo and Stratonikos.

The apse. The upper half is taken up by the Virgin with upraised arms, further down are half-figures of Sts. Diadochos and Ablabius and, above the altar table, the figures of participants in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Epiphanius (with a scroll with the text of the Offertory Prayer?) and Germanos (with an unclear text on the scroll).

The walls. East wall: above the apse is the Annunciation. South wall: in the uppermost zone is the Visitation and the Repentance of David, in the central the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria and Christ Calming the Storm, in the bottom register are figures of Sts. Clement of Rome and Meletios (in the altar space), Anthony, Paul the Theban, Sabas, John Climacus and Athanasios the Athonite (on the inner sides of the arcosolium are Sts. Gregory the Theologian and Ignatios and on its front side a somewhat later fresco of the death scene of bishop Teodor). Western wall: Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace appear in the top register, further down is prophet Elijah in the desert and below him a subsequently inscribed text of the king's charter to Gračanica; on the interior sides of the doorposts were two leaved crosses ( $\bar{E}\bar{N}$   $\bar{N}\bar{\Gamma}$  ..  $\bar{K}\bar{O}$  and .. ..  $\bar{K}\bar{A}$ ); in the XV century a portrait of Todor Branković was painted over the one on the south. North wall: in the top register is the Flight into Egypt and the Burning Bush, in the central zone Christ lecturing the Jews about resurrection and "If ye should not be like this child"; in the altar space are the figures of Sts. Abercius and Nyphon and further down, in the prothesis niche, a half-figure of St. Stephen (his name later scratched into the mortar).

### North parekklesion (St. Nicholas)

The dome. In the calotte is a half-figure of evangelist Luke surrounded by celestial powers in the guise of three thrones; in the drum are eight bishops: Sts. Astios,



Prochor, Clement, Epiphanius, Sosylas, Anatolios, Ambrosius and Anthimus; on the pendentives are four seraphim and on the walls below them the following pairs of saints: Sozon and Gerontios, Hermogenes and Epimachos, Eudocimus and Parthenios, Nyphon and Benjamin.

The apse. In the upper part is a figure of John the Prodromos with a scroll (Matthew 3, 2) and below him the half-figures of holy bishops Eustathios of Thessaloniki and James brother of the Lord, above the altar table are those participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Elias of Antioch (with the text of the episcopal service on his scroll) and Sophronios (the Second Prayer of the Faithful).

The walls. On the east wall, above the apse, are just two half-figures of bishops, Sts. Jude brother of the Lord (?) and Prochor. The other walls were decorated with scenes from the cycle of St. Nicholas, arranged in two registers. Of this cycle, the following representations have been preserved either in their entirety or just partially: the Birth of St. Nicholas, an ordainment of the saint, Three Generals in Prison, the saint appears in a dream to Constantine, the saint appears to Ablabius, the saint saving the innocents from the sword, calming the storm at sea and tearing down idols in the temple of Artemis. In the bottom register are single standing figures of saints, on the south wall: Sts. Parthenios and Anthimus (in the altar space), Theodore of Stoudion and Stephen the New (in the passage leading to the altar space is a leaved cross with a cryptogram reading  $\tilde{\Gamma} \tilde{X} \cdot \tilde{\Pi}$ ), Theodosios Koinobites and Ephraim the Syriac; on the west wall: St. Moses the Ethiopian and an almost damaged hermit; on the north wall only a figure of a hermit (Euthymios?) remains and Sts. Germanos and Babylas in the altar; in the prothesis niche is a half-figure of an unknown deacon and traces of two leaved crosses and several letters of a cryptogram  $\tilde{E} \tilde{E} (\tilde{E})$  are found in the arcosolium.

Gračanica has been the subject of scholarly attention for quite some time which accounts for the fact that the documentary material concerning its frescoes is almost complete. They have been catalogued a number of times and a large number of reproductions of these wall paintings has been published: Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, fig. 44–63; II, 29–35, fig. 30–33, pl. LX–LXXXI; Petković, *Pregled*, 74–83, figs. 193–215a; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Plan 34–46, Abb. 318–345; Todić, *Gračanica*, 80–110, pls. I–XXVII, figs. 6–116; *Zadužbine Kosova*, Prizren – Beograd 1987, 99–123; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1989.

The beginnings of investigation of the wall paintings from Gračanica can be tied to the first descriptions and reports of learned travellers and scholars who visited the monastery already in the XIX and at the beginning of the XX century and made records of its frescoes, mostly of

matter related to history and the portraits: G. Jurišić, *Dečanski prvenac*, Novi Sad 1852, 116–118; A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij*, t. III, 164–165 or B. Dj. Nušić, *Kosovo – opis zemlje i naroda*, II, 28–47. One of the frescoes which first drew the attention of those visitors was the ktetor's charter inscribed on the wall of the south parekklesion; it was copied and published by S. Verković (*Darstvennaja gramota korolja Uroša II Milutina monastirju Gračanice 1322 goda*, *Izvestija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk po otdeleniju russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, VII, 1858, 145, 155–160), and then by F. Miklošič (*Monumenta serbica*, Viennae 1858, 562–567), I. Ivanić (*Na Kosovu*, 62–68) and M. S. Milojević (*Putopis dela prave Stare Srbije*, I, 162–166), as well as by A. Solovjev (*Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava*, Beograd 1926, 99–105), J. Popović (*Manastir Gračanica na Kosovu*, 19–25), M. Pavlović (*Gračanička povelja*, GSND III, 1928, 105–140), Todić (*Gračanica*, 63–68) and B. Živković (*Gračanička povelja*). A more complete description of the scenes was offered by N. P. Kondakov (*Makedonija – arheologičeskoe putešestvie*, Sankt-Peterburg 1909, 206–210), while representations of the Great Feasts, the Passion and Miracles of Christ were investigated more comprehensively only by Millet, *Recherches*, s. v. *Gračanica* in the index, who included them in the "Macedonian school".

The attention of the first researchers was also focused on the portraits in the church, especially those which were repainted. With the intention of identifying and explaining them, they were discussed by P. Popović (*Kralj Milutin kao monah na freskama u Gračanici*, *Starinar* 4, 1927, 113–114); V. R. Petković (*Iz starog živopisa srpskog. Lik kralja Milutina kao svetitelja*, PKJIF VIII, 1928, 107–109; id., *Iz živopisa Gračanice*, *Istorijski časopis* 5, 1955, 5–6), N. L. Okunev (*Portrety korolej-ktitorov*, 88, note 1). The portrait of the ktetor and the Nemanjid family tree were also subjects of interest: V. R. Petković, "Loza Nemanjića" u starom živopisu srpskom, *Narodna starina* 5 (1923), 100; Radojčić, *Portreti*, 38–45; Dj. Bošković, *Deux "couronnes de vie" à Gračanica*, SK XI (1940), 63–64. However, at the same time the wall paintings of Gračanica were also interesting to scholars because of their style and iconography: N. L. Okunev (*Serbskie srednevekovye stenopisi*, Praga 1923, 6–18, 30; id., *Monumenta artis serbicae*, Praguae 1930, 4; Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 157–159) noted the closeness of this fresco decoration with those of Nagoričino and Kraljeva crkva and pointed out its complex iconography, in particular that of the Dormition of the Virgin; the style and iconography of certain scenes were discussed by L. Bréhier, *Utisci iz Gračanice*, *Starinar* 4 (1928), 3–8; N. Beljaev, *La figuration de "l'Arche de l'Aliance" dans la peinture balkanique du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, I/2, Paris 1930, 315, 324–325; Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, passim, while V. R. Petković published several specific iconographic discourses about them: *Parabola o*



*deset devojaka u staroj srpskoj umetnosti*, Raška I (1929), 23–27; id., *Freske sa predstavom Premudrosti*, Zbornik u čast Bogdana Popovića, Beograd 1929, 319–320; id., *Jedna slika u Gračanici*, Raška I (1929), 17–19; id., *Neki antički motivi u starom živopisu srpskom*, Strena Buliciana, Zagreb – Split 1924, 473–475. The earliest studies of S. Radojčić were closely related to Gračanica: apart from significant observations concerning historical characters and compositions, expounded in his book entitled *Portreti*, shortly after he published a study on Gračanica (*Gračanica*, Hrišćansko delo IV/1, 1938, 24–34) in which he conducted an iconographic and stylistic analysis of certain frescoes from this church, associated them with the frescoes of St. Nikita near Skoplje and assumed that the painters could have come from Greece. Later on, he also focused his attention on the programme of the frescoes and their relation to the space of the church (*Freske u Milutinovim zadužbinama*, Umetnički pregled II/7, 1939, 202–207; id., *Gračanica i Dečani*, Umetnički pregled III/4–5, 1940, 130–133).

After World War II, Radojčić continued his study of the art of Gračanica in discourses on the iconography (Radojčić, *Die Reden des Johannes Damaskenos*, 301–312; id., *La table de la Sagesse dans la littérature et l'art serbe depuis du XIII<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ZRVI 16, 1975, 215–224 and the style of the frescoes (Radojčić, *Gračaničke freske*, 173–180 = S. Radojčić, *Odabrani članci i studije*, 234–240). He also included them in broader surveys of Serbian and Byzantine painting: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 112–120; S. Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1969, 64–65. At the same time, there were other studies which resolved some of the questions related to certain frescoes of interesting iconography: Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 105–125; J. Radovanović, *Runo Gedeonovo u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, Zograf 5 (1974), 38–42 and id., *Jedinstvene predstave Vaskrsenja Hristovog u srpskom slikarstvu XIV veka*, Zograf 8 (1977), 34–43 (= Radovanović, *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 83–103); Babić, *Les croix*, 5, 7, 8, 11; Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositional and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the Period of King Milutin (1282–1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII–IX (1984–1985), 283–317; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 123–124, 141, 149; Ch. Walter, *The Invention of John the Baptist's Head at Gračanica*, Zbornik LU 16 (1980), 71–83; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 34, 73–74, 104–106, 132–133, 150–153, 194–197; Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 42, 66–69, 95–101, 103–122, 130–132, there were different hypotheses on the identity of the painters (Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 54–57; Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, Starinar IX–X, 1959, 125–131; Miljković-Peppek, *Pišuvanite podatoci*, 163–164; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 233–234;

Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 56–58), studies focused on various elements of style (Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 132 et passim; G. Subotić, *Teodosijeva žitija i srpski živopis Milutinovog doba*, Stara književnost, Beograd 1972, 398–403, passim; D. Milošević, *Manastir Gračanica*, Beograd 1975; M. Tatić-Djurić, *Nadživelost antike u srpskoj umetnosti i kulturi srednjega veka*, Antičke studije kod Srba, Beograd 1989, 291–293, 304–305; V. Mako, *Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, Zograf 23, 1993–1994, 18–27), the actual space of the church interior and its relation to the painted programme (S. Ćurčić, *The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and Its Iconographic Setting*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja IX–X, 1979, 313–320; J. Maglovski, *Loza blagorodna kraj izvora vode žive*, Baština 1, 1991, 221–227) and interpretations of the portraits: Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 169, 200–205; Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 39–40; Velmans, *Le portrait*, 107 et passim; M. Tatić-Djurić, *L'iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe*, Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congr. int. des ét. byz., III, Bucarest 1976, 317; Ch. Walter, *Iconographical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gračanica*, Gračanički simpozijum, 183–200; Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, 20–43, 120–126 et passim; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*, 54–55, 60–62, 131; Todić, *Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom*, 7–22.

In his book on the school of painting of king Milutin, H. Hallensleben devoted considerable attention to Gračanica: he dated the frescoes and reflected on their programme and certain iconographic and artistic solutions (Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 34–35, 60–64, 158–160 et passim). Better than previous researchers, P. Mijović explained the antique roots of certain frescoes, fully deciphered the calendar scenes, found parallels and explanations for them and suggested interesting eschatological interpretations of the portraits in the narthex: P. Mijović, *Prilozi proučavanju slikarstva Gračanice, Dečana i Peći*, Glasnik SAN XI/1 (1959), 70–71; id., *La personification de la Mer dans le Jugement dernier à Gračanica*, Χριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον, I, Αθήνα 1967, 208–219; id., *O hronologiji gračaničkih fresaka*, SKM IV–V (1968–1971), 179–199; id., *Carska ikonografija u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti* (III), Starinar XXVIII–XXIX (1979), 91–116. The work of Vojislav Djurić also had a considerable influence on shedding light on the wall paintings of Gračanica, above all on the Nemanjid family tree (*Loza Nemanjića u starom srpskom slikarstvu*, Zbornik radova I kongresa Saveza društava istoričara umetnosti SFRJ, Ohrid 1976, 53–55 = Peristil 21, 1978, 53–55) and some of the other portraits (*Le nouveau Joasaph*, CA 33, 1985, 99–109). He also introduced the frescoes of Gračanica into broader surveys of Serbian and Byzantine painting (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 72–73; Djurić, *La peinture*



byzantine vers 1300, 72–75). In an extensive note (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 263–264) he also offered a list of other works on the art of Gračanica.

Some ten years ago, the frescoes of Gračanica received a monograph study, Todić, *Gračanica*, 43–241. A greater part of this book focuses on wall paintings

from the age of king Milutin: relevant historiography is discussed and the frescoes are dated, they are also fully catalogued along with the accompanying inscriptions, their programme is deciphered and the more significant themes studied, their artistic qualities analysed and they are compared to contemporary Serbian and Byzantine painting.



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Gračanica, *Last Judgement*,  
detail, 1319–1321



## Banjska

*Church of St. Stephen*

King Milutin raised Banjska at the site of an old episcopal church and monastery designated it as his mausoleum. Work on the restoration of Banjska began after the king's reconciliation with his brother Dragutin (1312) and ended probably in 1316. Milutin's charter issued to the monastery, signed also by Dragutin (prior to 1316) and archbishop Nikodim (after 1317), has been preserved. Obeying the king's wish, his body was laid to rest in Banjska in 1321 and remained there until the time of the Battle of Kosovo when it was translated to Trepča and, from there, to Sofia where it is still kept today. The monastery suffered destruction in 1389, in the XV and subsequent centuries. For a certain period it also served as a Turkish stronghold and mosque. A number of fires and devastations have almost stripped Banjska of its original beauty described by Danilo II (Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 192–194). It was renovated in 1938–1939 and lately extensive archeological investigations of the area around the church have been under way. On the history of the monastery cf. S. Novaković, *Manastir Banjska – zadužbina kralja Milutina*, Glas SKA XXXII (1892), 4–55, as well as two monographic texts: T. Vukanović, *Manastir Banjska*, Vranjski glasnik VI (1970), 41–64 and M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska*, Beograd 1989.

The architectural forms and sculptural decoration of Banjska emulate to a great extent the appearance of XIII century churches of the Raška school. The church of St. Stephen at Banjska was a single-nave structure with a tripartite sanctuary, lateral choirs, a narthex, parekklesia on either side and two towers on its west facade. A dome supported by pilasters connected by arches rose above the

naos. On the architecture of the church cf. V. Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja*, Beograd 1965, 103–106.

Fresco paintings adorned not only the church but also the entrance to the monastery and the refectory. Since there are no direct testimonies, we should accept the assumption that they were created in the period between 1317 and 1321, the time of Milutin's death. Some of the frescoes had a gold background, a fact which inspired an unknown author of the XV or XVI century to say that the gold of Banjska is not to be found anywhere else (Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 36).

However, only minor fragments of those frescoes remain today so that their original scope and appearance is difficult to discern.

The authors of these frescoes are unknown.

No inscriptions have been preserved on the wall paintings.

A small number of frescoes have been preserved at random spots in the church. In the *diaconicon apse* is a frontally positioned figure of a bishop and in the conch of the *prothesis apse* some scenes involving an altar table. In the *naos*, in the space below the dome, on the soffit of the arch on the west side were medallions with half-figures of saints interconnected by a band forming the figure-eight. Among them, those of three bishops are better preserved while only inconsiderable fragments remain of the others. All frescoes have a gold background or ornaments of gold.

Fragments of frescoes, mostly with geometric and floral ornaments, have been discovered in the church, the refectory and the entrance to the monastery.



These modest remains of frescoes from Banjska were rarely mentioned in surveys of Serbian painting. They were noted already by Hilferding in the XIX century (A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij*, III. *Bosnija, Gercegovina i Staraja Srbija*, Sankt-Peterburg 1873, 211), while other authors only established that there were traces of frescoes in the church: A. Deroko, *Banjska*, *Starinar* VI (1931), 109; Petković, *Pregled*, 16; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86; L. T(rifunović), in: *Zadužbine Kosova*, Prizren – Beograd 1987, 91. Radojčić, *Majstori*, 18, concluded that they were painted in the old style (following him, the same was repeated by T. P. Vukanović, *Manastir Banjska*, 59–60, although more specifically – that in their style these frescoes still belonged to the art of the XIII century). They were catalogued more carefully by Dj. Bošković (*Izveštaj i kratke beleške s putovanja*, *Starinar* VI, 1931, 171).

Still, he made no note of their gold background and imitation of mosaic tesserae so that – according to this author – the mention of the "gold of Banjska" to which we referred earlier did not apply to the wall paintings but

rather to something else in the monastery. Apart from mentions of the frescoes from the diaconicon and the soffits of the arches in the space beneath the dome, Djurić (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 258) added corrections to the observations of Bošković by pointing out that gold and lines imitating mosaic tesserae have been preserved on the yellow background of the frescoes. He also drew attention to the specific manner of connecting of medallions in Banjska, convinced that it was adopted from Komnenian art (V. J. Djurić, *La peinture murale de l'Ecole de la Morava*, *La peinture de l'Ecole de la Morava*, Beograd 1968, 36 = Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 143). Only one image of a bishop from the soffit of an arch from the space beneath the dome has been published so far (M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska*, 34–35, fig. 24); this author repeated the observation that the frescoes were painted against a gold background which emulated mosaic tesserae, judged highly their artistic qualities and wondered whether their authors could have been Michael and Eutychios.





## Mušutište

*Church of the Virgin Hodegetria\**

The ktetor of this church was the treasurer (great kaznac) Jovan Dragoslav with his family, as attested by the inscription including the year 1314/15 carved above the entrance (this inscription has been published a number of times, cf. G. Tomović, *Morfologija ćiriličkih natpisa na Balkanu*, Beograd 1974, 48). Around 1350, tsar Dušan donated it to his monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren.

The church is cross-in-square structure with a dome resting on four free-standing piers connected by arches with the walls. It has an apse and two niches, serving as the diaconicon and the prothesis, on the east side and a single entrance on the west (cf. S. M. Nenadović, *Beleške sa puta po Kosmetu*, Muzeji 7, 1952, 168–171, figs. 1–2).

Most probably, the church was decorated with wall paintings shortly before 1320. Only a small part of that decoration is known today, just a couple of images from the sanctuary and the north-west part of the church, and it seems that some of the original frescoes are still covered by a layer of later added mortar.

The names of the painters are not known.

Inscriptions have been preserved only in two spots in the altar and were written out in Greek.

## Distribution of wall paintings visible today.

On the arch connecting the north-east pier with the east wall are two half-figures of bishops, St. Clement and another one without a name. Two other bishops are represented in half-figure on the arch spanning the space between the south-east pier and the east wall.

On the north side of the north-west pier is an image of an unknown holy woman while another holy woman (Kyriaki?) appears on its west side. On the arch connecting this pier with the north wall is a damaged half-figure of an angel in a medallion and two other figures, of an unknown woman martyr and St. Panteleimon, preserved from the waist up, appear on the arch connecting the same pier and the west

wall. Nearby, on the west wall, were representations of holy warriors: of the first figure only a sword remains (it could also represent an archangel) while the other two (two saint Theodores) are far better preserved.

The small number of frescoes from Mušutište – some of which are very well preserved – has long remained out of the sphere of scholarly interest. The first to draw attention to their existence was S. M. Nenadović (*Beleške sa puta po Kosmetu*, 169, fig. 3), and some ten years later they were investigated by Djurić, *Nepoznati spomenici*, 61–67, figs. 2–7: having made a precise list and described the preserved frescoes, he observed that they are the work of two fine painters. Djurić's text offered the most complete information on the wall paintings from Mušutište so that all the subsequent authors who wrote on the subject mostly repeated his observations: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 120, dated them too early, to the year 1314/15, while Djurić himself dated these frescoes to the period around 1320 and saw in them a preview of the sort of art that was going to be cultivated after the death of the king Milutin (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74), a view approved also by Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 50, 131 et passim, who included them in the large group of frescoes of XIV century aristocratic endowments from Serbia. In the opinion of P. Miljković-Peppek, they are the work of the assistants of Michael and Eutychios and were created around 1320–1325 (Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58, 59). Frescoes from Mušutište have also been mentioned in other surveys of medieval art: *Kosovo nekad i danas*, Priština 1973, 409 (M. Ivanović); *Zadužbine Kosova*, Prizren – Beograd 1987, 488 (M. Ivanović); *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 494 (G. Babić-Djordjević); Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 231. C. Grozdanov assumed that the bishop with the name Clement actually represents St. Clement of Ohrid: C. Grozdanov, *Pojava i prodor portreta Klimenta Ohridskog u srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, Zbornik LU 3 (1967), 66–67.

\* The church was destroyed by the Albanians in 1999



## Bijelo Polje

### *Church of Sts. Peter and Paul*



The church was raised by prince Miroslav, brother of the great jupanus Stefan Nemanja, in the period between 1170 and 1190 and it was renovated probably around the middle of the XIII century when the see of the bishopric of Hum was transferred to this place (Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 141–142, 171–175). In 1317, Danilo, the future archbishop, was ordained bishop of Hum and upon his request king Milutin restored the estate of the bishopric (Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, 597–598; Mošin, *Povelje kralja Milutina*, 66–67). Although it can not be discerned from the king's damaged charter whether the church itself was also restored at the same time, proof is found in the architectural interventions on the building and the new frescoes. This restoration was under way between 1317 (the year of ordainment of Danilo as bishop) and 1321 (the time of death of king Milutin) and was entrusted to the care of bishop Danilo (M. Janković, *Danilo, banjski i humski episkop*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, Beograd 1991, 83–88). Nagorni narrows the time span down to the period between 1319 and 1321, D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje, Montenegro*, München 1978, 49–50. It seems that the church remained an episcopal see, although with periods of discontinuity, until the XVII century when it was transformed into a mosque. It was returned to the Christian rite only in 1922.

In the course of the restoration of 1317–1321, the old structural kernel of the building was preserved and new parts were added to it. It was a single-nave building with three bays and a polygonal apse, a narthex and two lateral towers (the one on the south is torn down). Two no longer existent parekklesia used to flank the naos. The central bay rises higher than the other two and is covered by a transversal barrel vault. On the architecture of the church cf. D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje, Montenegro* and M. Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture de l'époque du Nemanja. II, Eglises de la Vallée du Lim et du littoral adriatique*, Beograd 1989, 47–84.

In the days of king Milutin the entire interior of the church was decorated with wall paintings but only a small number of these frescoes has been preserved today. They were probably painted between 1319 and 1321 (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74, where they are dated to the period "around 1320"). At the time the church was converted into a mosque the frescoes were covered by a layer of mortar, to be cleaned between 1955 and 1960 (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 265).

The painters are unknown and the inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian.

The preserved frescoes.

#### *Sanctuary*

In the conch of the apse is an enthroned Virgin with Christ in her lap with an angel standing on either side of the throne. In the bottom register are remains of two bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. On the east wall, above the apse, is the lower part of the Ascension while south of the apse stands the Virgin from the Annunciation and an unknown deacon below her. On the south wall were figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy.

The upper part of the Ascension was painted on the vault together with the Nativity of Christ and the Descent into Hades.

#### *Naos*

On the vault above the central bay is the Raising of Lazarus, the Mandelion, remains of a scene and, below them, figures of prophets, all on the east side. On the west side of the same vault is the Keramion, Transfiguration and, on the arches, four prophets with unrolled scrolls (only the name of Isaiah has been preserved). On the north wall is a preserved half-figure of Christ Emmanuel.

It seems that the Crucifixion (or Entry into Jerusalem)



was located on the vault of the west bay. However, of the scenes from this vault only the Descent of the Holy Spirit is somewhat better preserved. The Dormition is located on the west wall.

### Narthex

All the frescoes of the upper zones are damaged except for those on the west wall representing the Road to Calvary.

In the bottom register, just a single figure of a monk can be discerned on the south wall; on the west wall (south of the entrance) are fragments of two bishops, probably of Hum, the second in line could be identified as Danilo, and archbishop Nikodim (?); an image of Christ appeared above the entrance and north of the entrance – the ktetor's composition with the apostle Peter and prince Miroslav; two holy doctors and the lower parts of a prince (Konstantin?) and a king (Milutin?) are still visible on the north wall. Traces of a figure of a queen (Simonida?) appear on the east wall, right next to the figure of the king.

Due to the late date of their discovery and the rather poor state of preservation, the frescoes from the church of Sts. Peter and Paul have not yet received a monograph study. Also, only a part of these wall paintings have been published in reproduction so far, best of all in *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, figs. 93–98 (P. Mijović).

At first, only the ktetor's composition and a couple of frescoes from the narthex were visible so that different datings were suggested by the researchers: after 1346 (G. Millet, *Etude sur les églises de Rascie*, L'art byzantin chez les Slaves. Les Balkans, I, Paris 1930, 149–150) or, on the other hand, the close of the XII and the beginning of the XIII century (A. Solovjev, *Les emblèmes de Byzance et les Slaves*, SK, VII, 1935, 138; Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 28–29).

The first to write about the frescoes discovered in the 1960's was Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetoga Petra u Bijelom Polju*, 114–123, who separated chronologically the bottom zone of frescoes in the narthex from the other wall paintings. Having assumed that the frescoes of the bottom zone of the narthex are older, he identified the ktetor from the respective composition as king Uroš I, after his withdrawal

to Hum (1276), and the queen on the east wall as Jelena while, in his opinion, the figure of the archbishop in a sakkos on the west wall could represent either Sava II or Joanikije I. However, it is significant that Ljubinković associated the other frescoes with bishop Danilo and the time of issuing of Milutin's charter to the bishopric of Hum. Somewhat later, Radojčić (*Slikarstvo*, 109–112) focused his attention on the frescoes in the sanctuary and the naos and on the iconography of the Great Feasts while assessing highly the artistic qualities of the paintings. Shortly after, P. Mijović (*Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 260–262) made a list of the better preserved frescoes, repeated Radojčić's observation concerning their iconography and associated their authors with the workshop of Michael and Eutychios, having found the closest parallels in Gračanica. On the other hand, Djurić (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 74, 265) offered a different evaluation of the achievements of these painters and classified them within the group of poorer artists from the age of king Milutin while demonstrating, at the same time, that all the frescoes from this church date from the same period. He complemented Radojčić's observation on the influence of the texts of Cyril of Turov on the appearance of the Ascension with his own observation that other liturgical sources (above all those of St. Justin) could also have initiated the appearance of the unusual iconography of this Great Feast. This theme also inspired two other scholars who wrote on the subject: K. Wessel, *Das Himmelfahrtsbild von Sveti Petar in Bijelo Polje*, JÖB 21 (1972), 295–305 and P. Simić, *Freska Vaznesenja Hristovog u Bijelom Polju i njena liturgijska podloga*, Zograf 6 (1975), 21–23. The iconography of the Descent into Hades was explained by J. Radovanović, *Jedinstvene predstave Vaskrsenja Hristovog u srpskom slikarstvu XIV veka*, Zograf 8 (1977), 43–45 (= Radovanović, *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 103–106). Finally, G. Babić devoted full attention to representations of bishops of Hum and Serbian archbishops in the narthex (Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 328–329).

Information on these frescoes can also be found in: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 490 (G. Babić-Djordjević); P. Mijović, *Pregled umjetnosti Crne Gore*, Beograd 1976, 399; id., *Umjetničko blago Crne Gore*, Beograd – Titograd 1980, 151; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 223.



## Čučer near Skoplje

## St. Nikita



The church dedicated to St. Nikita, located on the south slopes of Skopska Crna Gora (in the vicinity of present day villages of Banjani and Čučer), was restored by king Milutin and, after 1308, donated to Hrusija, a pyrgos of Chilandar. This is attested by Danilo II (Danilo II, *Königsbiographien*, 181) and a number of charters issued by king Milutin and Byzantine emperors, the credibility, chronology and contents of which have not yet been sufficiently studied (cf. V. Mošin and L. Slaveva in: *Spomenici na Makedonija*, I, 286–292, 297–339, 346–350). At an unknown date, a pareklesion, torn down in the meantime, was added to the south side of the church. A considerable number of frescoes in the interior of the church was repainted in 1484 (cf. S. Radojčić, *Jedna slikarska škola iz druge polovine XV veka*, Zbornik LU 1, 1965, 69–139), and some again in the XIX century (Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 379–386). All these frescoes were cleaned in 1967–1968, S. Spirovski, *Konzervatorski radovi vrz freskite vo manastirskata crkva Sveti Nikita – Skopsko*, Likovna umetnost 7, 1980, 69–78.

The church is a medium size structure of a regular cross-in-square type with a dome resting on four piers. There are two entrances to the church, one on the west and another one on the south side. Originally, an altar screen stood between the two piers on the east. In greater detail on the architecture of the church Ž. Tatić, *Arhitektonski spomenici u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, GSND XII (1933), 127–134, figs. 1–8.

The oldest frescoes in the church are dated quite differently: Petković, *Pregled*, 212 (to the year 1307); S. Radojčić, *Starine Crkvenog muzeja u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1941, 15 and Radojčić, *Majstori*, 21 (1308); Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86 (1307–1310); F. Mesesnel, *Živopis crkve Sv. Nikite u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, Godišnjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta I (1930), 139 and note 3 (1309–1316); Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70 (prior to 1316). Although they were dated to the period around 1320 already by V. N.

Lazarev (*Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, I, Moskva 1948, 328), hesitancies regarding an early dating were expounded only by Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 6, 52–53, above all by offering reasons concerning their style. In more recent works on these frescoes (Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 381; Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58, 59), the same author settled for a dating around 1320 which has been accepted among scholars (Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 157, with a question mark; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 215; Todić, *Gračanica*, 233; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 138). The visual features of the frescoes actually do indicate that they could have been created only after Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva and Gračanica, and the lack of a portrait of king Milutin, otherwise common in the churches he raised, could imply that these wall paintings were created immediately after the king's death in 1321. It is exactly for those reasons that we date them to the period around 1320.

The authors of the frescoes of St. Nikita are known by name – they are Michael and Eutychios, and their signatures are to found on the shield of St. Theodore Teron (this signature was first published by G. Millet, *Sur le nom de deux peintres à St. Nikita*, Compte rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, avril-juillet, Paris 1934, 223–224, and, following him, by numerous other scholars of medieval art, cf. Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 22, fig. 2).

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian although Greek is also used quite often.

The preserved frescoes from around 1320.

## Sanctuary

Apse. The conch was taken up by a standing figure of the Virgin flanked by two angels, below her is a preserved Communion of the Apostles with bread and wine and, in the bottom register, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. Gathered around the Amnos and the chalice, the following bish-



ops take part in this scene: St. Gregory the Theologian with the beginning of the prayer of the First Antiphon inscribed on his scroll, St. Basil with a scroll with the words of the blessing of the Bread, St. John Chrysostomos with the words of the blessing of the Chalice and St. Athanasios the Great with the opening words of the Trisagion hymn.

The bay in front of the apse. On the vault were two archangels, on the south wall below them Christ appearing to the myrrhophores followed by a group of apostles from the Communion with Wine and, further down, St. Cyril of Alexandria from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the text of magnification of the Virgin. On the north wall is the Incredulity of Thomas, in the central register the apostles from the Communion with bread and below them St. John the Merciful from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the prayer of the Little Entrance inscribed on his unrolled scroll.

On the walls of the altar space, in the uppermost register, are scenes which represent a continuation of the cycle of Resurrection lections: on the south wall the myrrhophores informing the apostles of their encounter with the resurrected Christ, the apostles Peter and John over Christ's empty tomb, on the north side of the south-east pier was one of Christ's appearances to the apostles and on the south side of the north-east pier the scene in which the resurrected Christ eats the honey and the fish. All the scenes of this cycle on the north wall were repainted in the XV century. The cycle stretched over to the east wall of the diaconicon where there was some scene representing the resurrected Christ with the apostles and Christ's dialogue with Peter (John 21, 15-22).

The south-east pier has on its east and north side themes related to the altar: on the east side, in the upper part, is a half-figure of a saint, further down is St. Nicephoros of Constantinople from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the beginning of the prayer of the Anaphora on his scroll; on the north side are the already mentioned scenes of Resurrection appearances and, in the bottom register, St. Ignatios also with the prayer of the Anaphora.

The north-east pier also had scenes related to the altar on its east side: on the south side was the mentioned scene related to the Resurrection lections and, further down, two damaged figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy.

On the arch of the passage leading to the diaconicon are images of the prophet Moses and a bishop, further down is St. James the brother of the Lord from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the text of the Prayer before the Gospel.

In the passage leading to the prothesis was an Old Testament high priest.

Diaconicon. On the vault is the scene of Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace and half-figures of two holy bishops. On the east wall are two already mentioned scenes with the resurrected Christ and in the apse St. Romanos the Melodos. On the south wall, in the uppermost zone, are traces of a saint, in the central zone is the Healing of Peter's Mother-

in-Law and in the bottom zone two bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Gregory (?) Thaumaturgos with a damaged text on his scroll and St. Epiphanius with the Second Prayer of the Faithful on his. On the arch spanning the space between the south-east pier and the south wall are half-figures of St. Macarios and St. Clement of Rome and on the south side of this pier a half-figure of a bishop and, below him, St. Spyridon, also as a participant in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and, accordingly, with the text of the Offertory Prayer on his scroll.

Prothesis. On the east and the north wall, in the uppermost register, is the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria and, below it, on both walls again, the Hospitality of Abraham. On the north wall are also two frontally depicted figures of holy bishops and, further down, those of the participants in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, St. Andrew of Crete and St. Gregory of Nyssa, all with the prayers read after the epiklesis inscribed on their scrolls. In the apse is St. Stephen the Protomartyr and by the apse St. Nicholas, a participant of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, with the beginning of the prayer "Unto thee we commit our entire being and our confidence". On the arch between the north-east pier and the north wall are two half-figures of saints. Only the name of Parthenios is preserved. Below him was another bishop.

### *Naos*

The dome. The frescoes of the calotte and some wall paintings of the drum are repainted. Among those better preserved are the prophets: Isaiah (with the text of Isaiah 61, 1 on his scroll), Jeremiah (Baruch 3, 36), Elijah (II Kings 2, 6), Elisha (II Kings 2, 2), Jonah (Jonah 2, 3) and Ezekiel (Ezekiel 34, 10). On the pendentives are quite damaged representations of the evangelists: Mark (south-east), Matthew (south-west), Luke (north-west) and John with Prochor and a personification of Divine Wisdom (north-east). Between them, on the east side is the Mandelion and on the west the Keramion. On the south and north are angels in medallions.

Arms of the cross. On the vaults and on the pediments below them there are not many frescoes which have not been repainted. On the vault of the south arm of the cross is the Nativity and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple with the Baptism painted on the wall; all frescoes of the west arm have been repainted; in the north arm only a partly preserved scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre remains.

The uppermost zone of the walls in the space below the dome and in the west part of the church was filled with scenes based on Passion lections: on the south wall is the Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Christ lecturing the apostles on humility; above the arch connecting the south-west pier with the south wall is the Agony in the Garden; above the arch connecting this pier with the west wall the Betrayal of Judas and Christ Tried Before Annas and Caiaphas; on



the north wall are representations of the Ascent of the Cross, Descent from the Cross and the Lamentation.

In the central zone (including the piers) are scenes based on Gospels read at mattins: on the south wall is Christ changing the water into wine and the Marriage at Cana, Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood, Healing of the Lepers (quite damaged) and Christ and Zaccheus; on the south-west pier, on the east side, is the Healing of the Paralytic and, on the north, Mid-Pentecost; on the west wall, apart from the Dormition, are representations of Christ healing the woman with a spirit of infirmity and raising the daughter of Jairus (?), on the north Christ reading in the synagogue (damaged), Christ and the Samaritan Woman, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, Purification of the Temple and Christ in the House of Martha and Mary.

The bottom zone. South wall: Sts. Demetrios (his face repainted), Theodore Teron, Theodore Stratelates, Cosmas, Panteleimon and Damian. West wall: Sts. Athanasios the Athonite, Arsenios, Paul of Thebes, Anthony with an unrolled scroll, Euthymios (partly repainted), Sabas and Theodore of Stoudion with an icon and a scroll. North wall: Sts. Symeon Nemanja with a scroll, Sava the Serbian ("Sava first Serbian Archbishop"), Theodosios Koinobites, Sergius, Bacchus, Constantine and Helena, George and Nicetas (under a painted arch).

Two piers on the east (flanking the iconostasis), west side: in the top register of the north pier is an almost entirely repainted archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation, in the central register a badly damaged lecture of Christ and in the bottom register the Virgin Suppliant with a scroll. In the top register of the south pier is the Virgin from the Annunciation with prophet David behind her, in the central register the Anapeson and in the bottom zone Christ the Merciful.

Two piers on the west. South pier: in the uppermost zone, on the east and north side, are two already mentioned scenes of Christ's miracles and teachings, on the east is also St. Peter (greater part of this image is repainted), on the north archangel Michael (lower part repainted), on the south St. Sozon (?) in half-figure and, further down, an unknown martyr, on the west a damaged half-figure of a martyr. On the soffit of the arch between this pier and the west wall are figures of prophet David with an inscribed scroll (Ps. 131, 8) and St. John Damascene also with a scroll, related to the nearby Dormition. North pier: only the image of St. Paul with a half-open book is better preserved on the east side while only a small fragment of a monk is still visible on the north. Other images are painted on the new layer of mortar. On the soffit of the arch between this pier and the north wall are two half-figures of martyrs with an inscription by the image of St. Sozon.

On the doorposts of the entrance were representations of leaved crosses.

Because it is not certain that the younger layer of frescoes from the XV century repeated the older in all instances, we refrained from mentioning the themes represented on it.

The church of St. Nikita is one of the small number of endowments of king Milutin without a monograph of a more recent date. However, documentary material concerning its frescoes has been published in a satisfactory manner: Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, fig. 33–36; II, 35–37, pl. LVIII–LIX; Petković, *Pregled*, 212–213; Millet – Frolov, *La peinture*, III, pl. 31–53; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 31–32, Plan 26–28, Abb. 221–244; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 54–56, figs. 86–88, pls. CIII–CXV.

After the earliest random notes on its paintings, from around 1900, the iconography of some scenes was considered by Millet, *Recherches*, 392, 482, 633, and the first more studious work on the fresco decoration of this church was written by F. Mesesnel, *Živopis crkve sv. Nikite u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, 139–152: if we disregard for the moment his opinion on the existence of two layers of frescoes, the older being in the altar and the younger (which he dated to the second decade of the XIV century) in the other parts of the church, this author offered a rather good catalogue of the frescoes even though some themes were left out and the difference between the paintings of the XIV and the XV century went unnoticed. He gave a brief explanation of their iconography, mostly after Millet, and considered their artistic qualities in greater extent, establishing closest ties with the art of Nagoričino and Gračanica. He repeated all these results of his investigations in brief in his paper presented at the Third Congress of Byzantine Studies: F. Mesesnel, *Mittelalterliche Wandmalereien der St. Nikita-kirche bei Skoplje*, Actes du III<sup>e</sup> congr. internat. d'études byzantines (1930), Athènes 1932, 249–250. S. Radojčić, *Starine Crkvenog muzeja u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1941, 26–28, 33, also considered these wall paintings.

The early discovery of the signatures of the painters Michael and Eutychios (cf. G. Millet, *Sur le nom de deux peintres à St. Nikita*, 223–224 and Dj. Bošković, *Nekoliko natpisa sa zidova srpskih srednjovekovnih crkava*, Spomenik SKA LXXXVII, 1939, 9) resulted in the inclusion of the frescoes from this church in extensive discourses on the origins, identity and works of the mentioned artist (cf. Bogorodica Ljeviška). A more comprehensive investigation of their signed works and other similar creations undertaken by Miljković-Peppek contributed considerably to our understanding of the decoration of this church. He catalogued all the frescoes, differentiated precisely the older paintings from those younger in date and published reproductions of a great number of frescoes. He did show certain hesitancy regarding the problem of chronology and even questioned the possibility that Michael and Eutychios worked here at all suggesting that the frescoes may have been the work of some of their prominent associates. However, the results of his research of their style and, to a lesser degree, iconography can not be overlooked (Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 22–23, 51–56, 63–101, 111–119 et passim). Nearly twenty years later, the same author resolved his hesitations (Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 379–386): having



pointed out the fact that the data found in the charters of king Milutin and emperors Andronikos II and Constantine IX most probably refers only to the construction works, he demonstrated that the dating of the frescoes must be based on their stylistic analysis. He allowed for the possibility that they represent the third phase in the development of the art of Michael and Eutychios and that they were created around 1320 while finding proof for these assumptions in their closeness to the decoration of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki, the katholikon of Chilandar and Gračanica (cf. also Miljković-Pepel, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58–59. The same author presumes that the damaged icon of the Virgin with Christ from the village Banjani comes from this church, but that it was not painted by these painters, *Deux icônes nouvellement découvertes en Macédoine*, JÖB 21, 1972, 205–208, fig. 3–4).

Fine passages on the frescoes of St. Nikita were written by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 99–102; id., *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst*, Berlin 1969, 59–60, in particular concerning their programme and artistic qualities. This author came to the conclusion that the painters in question knew well the new art of the Palaiologoi and that they worked in precisely that new style. Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 29–30, 54–56, 121–127 et passim was most interested in the signatures of the artists, the programme of the frescoes and their artistic traits while considering their iconography only in passing. V. J. Djurić (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 70) also focused his attention on the painters and the manner of their work, differentiated between the creations of individual artists and singled out the most valuable achievements. After M. Chatzidakis (Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 156–157) the same author also classified the decoration of St. Nikita as belonging to the classicist phase of Byzantine art of the early XIV century (Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*,

74). V. Mako (*Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, Zograf 23, 1993–1994, 18–27) investigated the compositional treatment of the scene of Communion of the Apostles.

After Millet, researchers showed only sporadic interest in the iconography of the frescoes: Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Uz problem*, 81, 84 and Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 178–186 (wrote about the images of Sts. Symeon and Sava the Serbian); G. Babić – Ch. Walter, *The Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls in Byzantine Apse Decoration*, REB 34 (1976), 275 (on the inscriptions and the contents of the scrolls of bishops); Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 26 (on the frescoes painted around the altar screen); G. Babić, *O prepolovljenju praznika*, Zograf 7 (1977), 26 (on the scene of Mid-Pentecost); Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositional and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the Period of King Milutin (1282–1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII–IX (1984–1985), 283–317 (on the prophets in the dome); Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 216 (on Christ the archpriest in the Communion of the Apostles); Hamman-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 115–117, 133 (also on the Communion of the Apostles and the Virgin Suppliant); Todić, *Anapeson*, 136 et passim (on the Anapeson).

Other, less extensive texts on the frescoes from this church are cited in Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 261. Useful information about them can also be found in: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 479, 489 (G. Babić-Djordjević) and Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 223–224. As comparative material, they are also mentioned in more recent monographs of other churches of king Milutin: Τσιτουρίδου, 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός, s. v. 'Άγ. Νικήτας; Todić, *Gračanica*, s. v. *Sveti Nikita, manastir kod Skoplja*; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, s. v. *Čučer, crkva Sv. Nikite*; Todić, *Nagoričino*, s. v. *Sveti Nikita kod Skoplja*.





## Thessaloniki

## Church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos



Together with the churches raised in Chilandar on Mount Athos, the church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki is the best preserved of all of king Milutin's endowments raised in the Byzantine Empire. The source offering testimony that the king raised a church of such a dedication in the second city of the Empire is the text of archbishop Danilo (Danilo II, *Königsbiographien*, 179). The same author says that the king was very generous in giving alms so that he raised a hospital in Constantinople, where food was brought out daily "into the court" for the poor to take, and churches throughout the Empire and fed the feeble. This was probably also the case with his churches in Thessaloniki. Tradition had it that a foundling home was located by Hagios Nikolaos so that τῶν ὀρφανῶν (church of the foundlings) (Kisas, *Solun*, 40) is a more correct name for this church. The prolonged scholarly discussion regarding the name of the church was tied to the problem of determining its ktetor. Although O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique des origines au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1919, 309–310, already assumed that this is one of king Milutin's endowments, A. Xyngopoulos believed that its ktetor was Nikon Skoutarios Kapandritis whose tombstone was found in the church (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Τέσσαρες μικροί ναοί της Θεσσαλονίκης εκ των χρόνων των Παλαιολόγων*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1952, 31–34, εικ. 13; id., *Νεώτεροι ἔρευναι εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Νικολάον Ὀρφανόν Θεσσαλονίκης*, Μακεδονικά 6, 1965, 90; id., *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου*, 33). Because the hypotheses on Orphanos as the secular and family name of Nikon are without any true ground they were never accepted in science. Contesting Xyngopoulos's opinion, P. Mijović – relying, above all, on the information supplied by Danilo II – offered proof that the ktetor of the church of Hagios Nikolaos was king Milutin (P. Mijović, *Monodija o kamenu*, Kruševac 1967,

73–77 in 1965 this text was published in a daily newspaper). This challenged Xyngopoulos to restate his earlier views (A. Xyngopoulos, *L'église de Saint Nicolas Orphanos et les constructions du kral Miloutine à Thessalonique*, *Balkan Studies* 6/1, 1965, 181–185), which, in turn, inspired a reply on Mijović's part (P. Mijović, *Freske i stihovi*, *Zograf* 1, 1966, 44–45; id., *O gradjevinama kralja Milutina u Solunu*, *Starinar* XVIII, 1968, 233–237; Mijović, *Menolog*, 54–59, 70–71). More recently, their discourse was thoroughly re-examined by a younger generation of Greek scholars (Kisas, *Solun*, 29–30, 34–41; Γ. Ι. Θεοχαρίδης, *Μία εξαφανισθείσα σημαντική Μονή της Θεσσαλονίκης. Η Μονή Φιλοκάλλη*, *Μακεδονικά* 21, 1981, 344–348; Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ὀρφανός*, 33–45) who showed that τῶν ὀρφανῶν is an older name for the church than ὁ Ὀρφανός and that themes typical of the Serbian milieu do appear in the decoration of the church, above all the images of St. Georgios Gorgos and, perhaps, St. Clement of Ohrid (cf. also C. Grozdanov, *Portreti*, 80–81), which brought them (and above all S. Kissas and A. Tsiouridou) to the conclusion that king Milutin must have been the ktetor of this church (cf. also *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 481, note 28 – G. Babić-Djordjević).

On the outside, the church has the form of a three-aisle basilica without a dome, covered by slanted roofs. Inside, its central nave is shaped as a single-nave church with an altar, two niches serving as the prothesis and the diaconicon and an entrance on the west. Through double-arched openings it communicates with the aisles which once probably served as parekklesia. On the west, a spacious narthex stands in front of the aisles and the central kernel of the church proper. For those reasons, we can speak of this church as a single-nave structure encircled by an ambulatory aisle. On the architecture of the church cf. A.



Ευγγόπουλος, *Τέσσαρες μικροί ναοί της Θεσσαλονίκης εκ των χρόνων των Παλαιολόγων*, 36–44.

The frescoes were painted in the second decade of the XIV century, in its final years (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 265). They are well preserved, especially in the central part of the church, and have been cleaned in 1959–1960 (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 27, note 3).

The painters are unknown, they probably come from the circle of artists around Georgios Kalliergis.

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Greek.

The preserved frescoes.

### Sanctuary

The apse. The conch is taken up by a Virgin Acheiropoitos surrounded by archangels Michael and Gabriel. Below them is the central part of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the Amnos on the altar table approached, on the north, by St. John Chrysostomos (the Prayer of Oblation on his scroll) followed by St. Athanasios (with the prayer of the Third Antiphon) and, on the south, by St. Basil (with the prayer of the Cherubicon) followed by St. Gregory the Theologian (with the text of the Offertory Prayer from the liturgy of St. Basil on his scroll).

In the prothesis apse is a frontally depicted St. Spyridon.

In the diaconicon apse is a figure of St. Sylvester depicted in the same manner.

On the triangular pediment of the east wall is the Christ appearing to the myrrhophores and, below, the Annunciation (almost entirely damaged), Nativity and Adoration of the Magi. Further down, directly above the apse, is the Mandelion surrounded by the Communion of the Apostles. Lower still, around the apse, are half-figures of bishops: St. Symeon relative of the Lord, James brother of the Lord, Judas relative of the Lord and Paul the Confessor; finally, in the first zone, above the prothesis niche, are images of St. Babylas (in half-figure), Anthimus and, above the diaconicon niche, Polycarp and Bucolus. In the zones of the south wall are gospel scenes (cf. naos) as well as half-figures of bishops: Sts. Gregory of Armenia, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory Dialogos and Eustathios of Antioch while St. Clement of Ancyra in half-figure appears in the lower zone and, below him, in a niche, a leaved cross surrounded by the following text:  $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{C}} \text{NIKA}$ ;  $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{Y}} \text{YIOY TOY } \overline{\Theta}\overline{\text{Y}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\Omega} \overline{\Theta}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{T}}$ , as well as two bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Cyril of Alexandria (with the lecture from the dyptich in honour of the Virgin on his scroll) and St. John the Merciful (with the prayer before the lecture from the dyptich, from the liturgy of St. Basil).

The two upper zones of the north wall also contain scenes from cycles which belong to the naos (cf. naos). Half-figures of bishops appear in the lower zone: a bishop from Jerusalem followed by St. Macarios of Antioch,

Tarasios of Constantinople, George of Constantinople and Peter of Alexandria. In the bottom register is St. Nicholas, as a participant in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, followed by St. Antipas depicted frontally; in the passage leading to the north ambulatory aisle are two angel-deacons.

### Naos

The top register, including also the sanctuary, contains representations of the Great Feasts: on the south wall are Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Baptism, Raising of Lazarus and Entry into Jerusalem (which spreads over to the west wall); on the west wall, at the top, is the Ascension and further down a part of the Entry into Jerusalem spreading over from the south wall, the Metamorphosis and Crucifixion and, lower still, the Dormition; on the north wall are two scenes from the Passion lections, Descent from the Cross and Lamentation, as well as the Descent into Hades.

In the zone below we find scenes related to the Passion lections arranged in the following manner: on the south wall is the Agony in the Garden, Betrayal of Judas, Christ before Annas and Caiaphas and Christ before Pilate; on the west wall the Denial of Peter (by the Dormition) and a part of the Mocking of Christ; on the north wall is the Mocking of Christ, Road to Calvary, Ascent of the Cross, Last Supper and Washing of the Feet.

The register of half-figures and single standing figures includes, on the south wall, a half-figure of an Old Testament high priest, images of the evangelist Matthew and St. Victor and a half-figure of St. Bacchus on the soffit of the arch of the east part of the two-light window, images of the evangelist Mark and St. Menas and, finally, half-figures of Sts. Panteleimon and Hermolaos on the soffit of the arch of the west part of the two-light window.

On the west wall are half-figures of Sts. Sampson Xenodochos and Diomedes, a damaged space intended for the ktetor's inscription (?) and a half-figure of St. Theodote. On the north wall are half-figures of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (?), on the intrados of the arch of the two-light window, on the west side, are prophet Daniel and evangelist Luke and a half-figure of St. Sergius and, on the intrados of the arch on the east side of the two-light window, the Ascension of Prophet Elijah and evangelist John and, finally, a half-figure of an Old Testament prophet.

The register of standing single figures of saints. South wall: by the iconostasis is a winged St. John the Prodromos with his decapitated head and a scroll (John 1, 29), on the lateral sides of the two-light window, towards the south ambulatory aisle, are representations of Christ the Saviour with an open gospel book (Matthew 11, 28) and St. Demetrios and, by the west wall, St. Theodore Stratelates. West wall: south of the entrance is St. Theodore Teron and north of it St. Artemios. North wall: at the westernmost point is St. Nestor, on the lateral sides of the two-light window, towards the north ambulatory aisle, St. Georgios Gorgos



and the Virgin Mediatrix with the beginning of her dialogue with Christ inscribed on a scroll and, by the iconostasis, St. John the Theologian with an open book (John 1, 1).

#### South ambulatory aisle

South wall: remains of the Menologion; in the window, on its west side, are two leaved crosses, one of which is accompanied by the following text:  $\text{CTPOC T\ddot{Y} X\check{C} YIOY TOY \Theta\ddot{Y}; T\check{C} X\check{C} NIKA, E \Omega \Theta\ddot{Y} T, \text{and the other by: } T\check{C} X\check{C} NIKA \Pi \text{ XPICTIANOC IPOCKYNEI CT\ddot{P}ON X\ddot{Y} T THMION. North wall, uppermost zone: Healing of the Woman with the Spirit of Infirmary, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, Healing of the Possessed, Healing of the Lame; lower zone: Healing of the Paralytic, Christ and the Samaritan Woman and the Marriage at Cana; bottom zone: the Burning Bush and the cycle of St. Gerasimos.$

#### West ambulatory aisle (narthex)

East wall. In the two upper zones are parts of the Menologion and the cycle of St. Nicholas, top register: Birth of St. Nicholas, the saint goes to school, the saint ordained deacon, the saint ordained priest, the saint ordained bishop and the miraculous salvation of the three virgins; the register below: the saint appearing to Ablabius in his dream and, further down, the three generals in the dungeon, the saint appearing to emperor Constantine in his dream, the miracle with the salvation of the three innocents from the sword, the miracle at sea, part of the miracle with the wheat and the death of St. Nicholas. In the zone of standing figures, around the entrance to the naos, are images of the apostles Paul and Peter and the Virgin with Christ and, on the other side, Sts. Nicholas with an open book (John 10, 9), Theodore of Stoudion and Stephen the New (with an unrolled scroll). West wall: in the upper zone are remains of the Menologion; in the zone of standing figures are Sts. Sabas of Jerusalem, Paul of Thebes, Ephraim the Syriac, Onuphrios, a cross with the cryptogram  $\Phi \bar{X} \Phi \Pi$ ; in the window; following a broad stretch of wall without any frescoes are St. Pachomios and an angel (both badly damaged) and John Calybites in the north part.

#### North ambulatory aisle

South wall. The two upper zones contain the Akathistos of the Virgin (Joseph's dream appears in the second zone, above the colonette of the two-light window); in the zone of standing figures are: St. Clement (of Ohrid?), Anne with the infant Mary in her arms, Catherine and Irene.

Although the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos were discovered and cleaned rather late, they have been published in their entirety: Ξυγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, 12–24 (a full list and descriptions of the frescoes), σχ. I–VIII (the distribution of the wall paintings), πίν. 2–159 (reproductions of the frescoes), πίν. 160–190 (colour reproductions); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νι-*

*κόλαος Ορφανός*, 295–299 and σχ. 1–4 (catalogue and distribution of the frescoes), πίν. 1–119 (black and white reproductions of the frescoes).

Shortly after their cleaning, the frescoes were dated to the period between 1310 and 1320 and ascribed to Thessalonikan artists (Ξυγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, 24–27). After that, their chronology was never questioned and only T. Velmans (*Les fresques de Saint Nicolas Orphanos à Thessalonique et les rapports entre la peinture d'icônes et la décoration monumentale au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, CA 16, 1966, 145–170) attempted to move it closer to the middle of the XIV century, which was not accepted in science (cf. a critical review of her text by Α.Τσιτουρίδου in: *Βυζαντινά* 2, 1970, 442–450).

The question of the identity of the painters and the similarity of their work with other creations of the early XIV century was of particular interest. Even before they were cleaned, A. Xyngopoulos noticed that they resembled the wall paintings created by Kalliergis at Veria and the works of Michael and Eutychios from Nagoričino (Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 28, 43), while V. J. Djurić placed them in the same group as the frescoes of the Saviour's church at Veria and the those of the Chilandar katholikon (Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 79). In his discourse with Xyngopoulos, P. Mijović used the similarity between the decoration of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and contemporary art in Serbia as proof of Milutin's ktetorship (cf., for example, P. Mijović, *Monodija o kamenu*, 73–77), and even Xyngopoulos himself was inclined to look for resemblances between these paintings and those of Nagoričino. Apart from assuming that Hagios Nikolaos could be Milutin's church, Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 213, also observed, although in passing, that its frescoes are most like those of St. Nikita and Nagoričino. Their similarity with the wall paintings of St. Nikita was also pointed out by M. Σωτηρίου, *Η Μακεδονική Σχολή και η λεγομένη Σχολή Μιλουτίν*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/5 (1966–1969), 21. The observations of Djurić and Xyngopoulos regarding the resemblance between these frescoes and the works of Kalliergis from Veria (and also to the Chora at Constantinople, Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 161–162) and those from Chilandar were further developed by Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, 114–121, 158–164: following a detailed iconographic and stylistic analysis he came to the conclusion that some of the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (the Dormition, Akathistos of the Virgin, cycle of St. Nicholas and some others) were painted by Kalliergis and others by his associates. Later on, however, Djurić himself displayed a greater degree of caution in ascribing these frescoes to Kalliergis but still claimed that one of the painters from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos also worked in the katholikon of Chilandar. In Djurić's opinion, king Milutin, the ktetor of both churches, brought to Chilandar a painter who had previously worked on the decoration of his endowment at Thessaloniki (Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 36–41).



Prior to the publishing of the second monograph on these frescoes, their iconography did not get a chance to catch the attention of a greater number of scholars. The Menologion was discussed by Mijović, *Menolog*, 77–85, 117–119, 257–259, who assumed earlier still that the Menologion scenes from this church were accompanied by couplets of the poet Christopher of Mytilene (P. Mijović, *Freske i stihovi*, 44–45). Kissas, *Solun*, 34–40, wrote extensively about the images of St. Georgios Gorgos and St. Clement which substantiated his conviction that this church had a Serbian ktetor. Being the oldest preserved example of its kind in mural painting, the image of Christ dressed as an archpriest in the scene of the Communion was especially interesting to the researchers: V. J. Djurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija*, Manastir Ravanica – spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici, Beograd 1981, 55 et passim; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 216; T. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Η μορφή του Χριστού-Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/17 (1993–1994), 67 et passim. The cycle of St. Nicholas was also discussed by Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 42, 66–90, 95–122, 134–142, the cycle of St. Gerasimos by S. Tomeković, *Note sur saint Gerasime dans l'art byzantin*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 280–281, and the Akathistos by A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos. Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1989, 9–10, 19–26, 31–34 et passim, Abb. 1–10, Plan 1–3.

In surveys of Byzantine art of the early XIV century and Thessalonikan painting, due attention was devoted to the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos: Lazarev, *Storia*, 384; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 161–162; Mouriki, *Stylistic*

*Trends*, 61; *Η Θεσσαλονίκη και τα μνημεία της*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1985, 109–114, εικ. 25–29; Tsitouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 11–14; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 208; Ch. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Byzantine Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 1992, 137–144; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Greek Art. Byzantine Wall-Paintings*, Athens 1994, 247–249, Pls. 139–144; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 73. So far, the decoration of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos has not been included in similar surveys of Serbian art. Some information on these frescoes can be found in more recent monographs on Byzantine and Serbian monuments of the first decades of the XIV century where they are mentioned as comparative material. A short monograph, popular in character, has also been published on this church and its wall paintings: X. Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη, *Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος ο Ορφανός*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1970.

The most comprehensive work on these frescoes is the book written by Anna Tsitouridou (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*). Apart from the entire documentary material, this book also includes reviews of previous investigations of the paintings (pp. 27–30), a discourse on the name of the church and its ktetor, with new evidence in favour of king Milutin (32–45), a full explanation of the programme of decoration, the iconographic traits of the frescoes (49–206) and their artistic values (223–256). Finally, their chronology is also considered, the dating to the second decade of the XIV century suggested by A. Xyngopoulos confirmed (250–266) and their place in the art of the first half of the XIV century determined (269–276).





## Chilandar

*Katholikon church dedicated to the  
Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*



On the site of the old church raised by his ancestors, Sts. Symeon and Sava, king Milutin raised a new and larger church which was decorated with wall paintings in the last years of his lifetime. In the second half of the XIV century a spacious exonarthex was added to this structure. In the meantime, several other frescoes were painted in the church, mostly of funerary nature. As a ktetor, Milutin is mentioned not only in the writings of archbishop Danilo (Danilo II, *Königsbiographien*, 175–176) and the numerous charters this king issued to the monastery (confirmed by the Byzantine emperors Andronikos II and Constantine IX) but also in the later repainted and now only partly cleaned inscription (SSZN, I, 14–15), all attested by the king's portraits. During the past seven centuries the church shared the fate of the monastery, cf. Djurić, *Chilandar*, 36–48, with a list of chosen bibliography. As for the frescoes, the first minor alterations on them were made in the third decade of the XIV century, at the time when the portraits of king Stefan Uroš III (Dečanski) and, probably, his son Dušan were painted on the east wall of the narthex. Practically all the frescoes were repainted in 1803. However, in our day, some of them have been freed of this later added layer but full reports on conservation works have not yet been published: cf. only M. Michaelidis, *Nouveaux documents sur la peinture de deux monuments de la Macédoine*, Athens Annals of Archaeology IV/3 (1971), 341–346; B. Živković, *Konzervatorski i restauratorski radovi na živopisu u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 5 (1981), 40.

King Milutin's church is a building of the developed triconch type with a narthex. The altar space is tri-partite. It communicates with the prothesis and the diaconicon, and these in turn with the naos, through arched openings. On the lateral sides, the naos extends into semicircular conchs with entrances of their own while three entrances connect

it with the narthex. A dome on pendentives rises above the naos, supported by four columns. The narthex has the shape of a slightly shortened square divided into six bays covered by groin vaults, a calotte and, in the west part, two domes. Entrances to the narthex are located on the west and the two lateral sides, cf. Dj. Bošković – M. Kovačević, *Le monastère de Chilandar. Le catholicon. Architecture*, Beograd 1992.

The time of decoration of the church may have been recorded in an inscription in the narthex. On the other hand, based also on the portraits of emperors Andronikos II and Andronikos III and king Milutin, the date of its completion can be precisely placed in the period between June 1320 and October 1321 (Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 116–118).

The authors of the frescoes are unknown.

It seems that most of the inscriptions were in Greek although there are some in Serbian as well.

Not all the frescoes were repainted in 1803: some were spared (those behind the new iconostasis and in the southwest bay around the original tomb of Nemanja) and some, or their inscriptions, can still be discerned through the later layer of paint. After World War II, some the frescoes were fully cleaned and others only partly (cf. B. Živković, *Popis fresko-površina u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 8, 1984, 71). In our catalogue, all the visible original frescoes from 1320–1321 which have not been repainted or those which have been cleaned are marked with an asterisk (\*) and those which are only partly visible with two asterisks (\*\*). In this catalogue we shall list all the frescoes from Milutin's church because the cleaning of the wall paintings performed to date has shown that the painters of the XIX century repeated the original decoration almost literally.

Catalogue of the frescoes.



### Sanctuary

Apse. The conch is taken up by a Virgin Platytera (below her are half-figures of bishops in baroque frames, certainly painted for the first time in the XIX century), further down is the Communion with bread and wine and, in the zone below, scenes related to Christ's resurrection appearances: the apostles receiving the scrolls and Christ taking leave of the apostles on the Mount of Olives, in the bottom zone are bishops participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Sava archbishop of Serbia, St. Amphilochios, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. John Chrysostomos, St. Basil the Great, St. Athanasios, St. Cyril and St. Gregory of Neocaesarea. On the arch in front of the apse is Christ Emmanuel and frontally depicted archangels Gabriel and Michael.

On the vault of the altar space is the Ascension of Christ.

Scenes and cycles from the apse continue on the walls. On each wall there is a group of apostles from the Communion, on the south also the Washing of the Feet and on the north the Last Supper. The register below is taken up by scenes related to the resurrected Christ, on the south wall: Christ appearing to the myrrhophores and Christ appearing on the Sea of Galilee, and on the north: Myrrhophores informing the apostles of Christ's resurrection, apostles discovering Christ's empty tomb and Christ appearing to the apostles ("Peace unto you"). In the bottom register are two more bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, St. Epiphanius on the south and St. Nicholas on the north wall. In the passage leading to the diaconicon are Sts. Andrew of Crete (from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy), Ignatios Theophoros and, on the soffit of the arch, half-figures of Dometius and Mocius. In the passage leading to the prothesis are figures of St. Spyridon and St. Gregory the Theologian from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and, above them, half-figures of Parthenios and Fantinus.

Diaconicon. At the top of the apse is the Supper at Emmaus, below it the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria and in the bottom zone the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with St. Methodios of Patras and a bishop with the epithet Thaumaturgos taking part in it. On the groin vault are four half-figures of archangels and on the soffit of the arch opening towards the naos Sts. Achilleios, Isaurios and another bishop in a medallion. At the top of the south wall are figures of two holy bishops, in the central register is St. Cleonicus and the Road to Emmaus and in the bottom register a bishop from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. At the top of the north wall are two holy bishops and further down Sts. Sosipatrus, Theophilactus, Clement and an unknown saint.

Prothesis. The top of the apse is taken up by a representation of the Holy Trinity, below it are frontal figures of Sts. Germanos and Tarasios and in the bottom zone St. James brother of the Lord\*\* and St. Symeon relative of

the Lord\*\* approaching Christ the Amnos. On the groin vault are four angels and on the arched opening towards the naos St. Basil in a medallion surrounded by bishops Elias and Eustathios. In the top register of the north wall are two holy bishops, in the central register Abraham Welcoming the Three Angels and an unknown bishop and in the bottom register St. Gregory of Armenia and St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. In the top register of the south wall are six holy bishops (among them Clement, Babylas and Polycarp) in the bottom only St. Gregory of Agrigentum from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy.

### Naos

The dome. The calotte is taken up by a half-figure of Christ Pantokrator, below him are the Celestial Powers, then the Celestial Liturgy and, finally, twelve half-figures of prophets with rolled-up scrolls. The same number of prophets with unrolled scrolls appears in the drum (among them Zechariah, Micah, Joel, Malachi, Jonah, Ezekiel, Elijah and Elisha). On the pendentives are the evangelists: Matthew (south-east), Luke (south-west), Mark (north-west) and John with Prochor (north-east). Between the pendentives, on the south and the north, are angels in medallions, the Mandelion is on the east and the Keramion on the west side.

The vaults rising over the arms of the cross. East arm: Nativity and Descent of the Holy Spirit; south: Presentation of Christ in the Temple, angel in a medallion and Transfiguration; west: Raising of Lazarus, angel in a medallion and Entry into Jerusalem; north: Crucifixion, angel in a medallion and Descent into Hades.

The vaults rising over the corner bays. On the groin vault in front of the diaconicon is a half-figure of St. Stephen\*\* surrounded by those of bishops Porphyrios, Nicephoros, Eustathios and Leo, further down are two bishops and St. Daniel the Stylite\* above the colonette of the two-light window. On the groin vault in front of the prothesis was Christ Emmanuel in a medallion surrounded by half-figures of holy bishops Juvenal, Theodotus, Neilus and Athanasios, below them are figures of Sts. Theodosios and Macarios and, above the colonette of the two-light window, the image of St. Symeon the Stylite\*. On the vaults covering the south-west and the north-west bay are angels in medallions.

On the front sides of the east wall, by the iconostasis, in its upper parts, is the Anapeson\* (north) and Christ's sermon on the end of time\* (south). The new iconostasis does not permit us to learn what was represented in the lower zones. On the arch between the east wall and the north-east column are representations of prophets Samuel\*\* and Aaron\* and on the arch between this column and the north wall Sts. Sergius\*\* and Bacchus\*\*. On the arch between the east wall and the south-east column is the righteous Melchizedek\* and the prophet Moses\* while St.



Justin the Philosopher and Sozon appear on the arch connecting this column with the south wall. On the wall above the north-east column are representations of archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation with prophet Solomon on the west and the Incredulity of Thomas on the south side, while on the wall above the south-east column stands the Virgin from the Annunciation with prophet David on the west and the Agony in the Garden on the north side.

South wall, south-east bay. On the east side of the pilaster are Sts. Boniface and Basiliscus, painted side by side, while Christ in the House of Martha and Mary and St. John the Prodromos below it appear on the front side of this pilaster.

South choir. In the conch is the Baptism and below it the Betrayal of Judas, Christ Tried Before Annas and Christ Tried Before Caiaphas. In the register below are representations of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple\*, Healing of the Woman with a Spirit of Infirmary\*, Mid-Pentecost\*, Widow's Mite\* and Purification of the Temple\*. Below the inscription: ΗΜΕΙΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΝ: — МЫН ВОИНСТВОУЕМЪ ЦРОУ СИЛАМЪ\*, in the bottom register we find Sts. Demetrios\*, Procopios\*, Eustathios\* and Mercurios\* as well as an unknown monk\*, Theodosios Koinobites with a scroll\*, Arsenios with a scroll\* and Anthony with a scroll\*.

South wall, south-west bay. On the front side of the pilaster by the choir was the Healing of Peter's Mother-in-Law and, further down, a figure of St. Nicholas; on its west side was Christ and the Samaritan Woman followed by scenes representing Christ and Zaccheus and Healing of the Paralytic at Capernaum, further down was St. Symeon Nemanja ("St. Symeon")\* on the pilaster and then St. Sava ("St. Sava and ktetor")\* and king Milutin ("Stefan in Christ God faithful King Uroš and ktetor")\* (behind him, on the west wall, was St. Stephen the Protomartyr).

West wall. The uppermost register of wall paintings includes one miracle of Christ, the Dormition and a scene involving Christ and the wealthy man (?). The middle register contains scenes from the cycle of the Virgin: Joachim's Offerings Refused, Annunciation to Joachim and Annunciation to Anne, Meeting of Joachim and Anne and the Blessings of the Three Priests, Zachary Praying Over the Rods of the Suitors, Zachary Gives Mary Away to Joseph, Annunciation at the Well, Mary Reproached by Joseph and Drinking of the Water of Purification. In the bottom register are representations of: St. Stephen the Protomartyr\*, Nicodemus\* (above the south entrance), Serapion, apostle Peter (on the pilaster), Synaxis of the Archangels, Christ Pantokrator with an open book (John 10, 9)\* above the central entrance with two angels (on the soffit of the arch) flying towards him, Sts. Constantine and Helena, apostle Paul (on the pilaster), St. John Calybites, Acacios and Proclus (above the north entrance, the doorpost of which

is decorated with a leaved cross with the cryptogram  $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{NI}} \overline{\text{KA}}$ ).

South-west column. On the wall above the column, on the east side, is Christ Judged by Pilate and, on the north, the Triple Denial of Peter. On the arch extending towards the south wall is the Healing of the Blind and another healing while the Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood and the Healing of the Captain's son appear on the arch extending towards the west wall.

North-west column. On the wall above the column, on the south side, is the Mocking of Christ and on the east the Road to Calvary. On the soffit of the arch extending from this column to the west wall are two scenes: Christ Cursing the Fruitless Fig-Tree and the Parable of the Publican and the Pharisee. On the arch extending towards the north wall is one of Christ's lectures to the apostles and "Be as this child".

North wall, north-west bay. In the uppermost zone is the story of the marriage feast of the king's son, in the middle zone the Healing of the Blind and the Healing of the Lame and in the bottom zone: Sts. Paul of Thebes, Stephen the New and Theodore of Stoudion. (An arcossolium decorated with an image of the Virgin with Christ was later constructed between this wall and the column).

North choir. In the conch is the Lamentation and Preparation of the Sepulchre; below them is Christ before the cross, Ascent of the Cross, Descent from the Cross and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre; further down is the Healing of the Lepers, one miracle of Christ and the Birth of the Virgin\*\*; in the register of standing figures are Sts. Gerasimos, Euthymios, Sabas of Jerusalem, Hilarion and Gerontios and, below an inscription referring to holy warriors, Sts. Theodore Stratelates, Theodore Teron and George\*\*.

North wall, north-east bay. On the south, front face of the pilaster is Christ lecturing the Jews and further down a figure of the apostle John the Theologian while on its east side we find an unknown martyr and St. Tryphon below him.

### Narthex

Vaults. The groin vault rising over the north-east bay. On its segments are several scenes from the lives of celebrated monks: St. Euphrosynios (Euphrosynios in heaven, Euphrosynios giving apples to a priest, the priest showing them to the brethren, monks in awe before the heavenly apples); St. Anthony and St. Paul the Theban (Anthony looking for Paul and enquiring the centaur about him, a lioness leads Anthony to Paul, Anthony sees the devil in the guise of a satyr, the meeting of Anthony and Paul, a raven brings food to Anthony and Paul, two angels taking Paul's soul to heaven, Anthony buries Paul); St. Pambas (Pambas mocks idle demons); St. Macarios (Macarios taking to the skull of a pagan chieftain) and one unknown monk (the blessed and an outlaw, an angel appears to the



saint and orders him to bury the outlaw, the saint buries the outlaw, an angel carries his soul to heaven). In the corners are single figures of Sts. Pitirunas and John Calybites. Below the vault, on the north wall are three monks: Sts. Neilus, Pachomios and John.

**Vaults.** The vault rising over the bay in front of the central entrance to the naos: a medallion with the image of Christ Emmanuel is held up by four angels and, on the surrounding arches, prophets with scrolls: Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Noah.

**Vaults.** The groin vault over the south-east bay contains a greater number of scenes related to different monks: St. Pachomios (Pachomios teaching at his monastery, Pachomios blessing the monks seated at a table); St. Paphnutios (Paphnutios prepares a catechumen, an angel appears to Paphnutios, Paphnutios lecturing about the true faith, Paphnutios blessing a pupil); St. Macarios of Alexandria (Macarios healing the priest Karkynos, Macarios showing the snake bite on his hand, Macarios standing naked in a mosquito infested swamp, Macarios addressing the monks, Macarios meets Ianis and Iambris on the road to Kypothaphios, Macarios chases demons out of Kypothaphios, Macarios fasting, Macarios argues with a heretic about the resurrection of the dead). In the corners are figures of Sts. Xenophones, Arcadios and Mark and below the vault, on the south wall, are representations of Sts. John, Onuphrios and Macarios.

**Vaults.** The groin vault over the central west bay contains scenes from the lives of several monks: St. Dorotheus (Dorotheus gathering rocks to make a hut, bread falling out of Dorotheus's mouth, Dorotheus sending a pupil out to the well with a snake, the pupil returns and Dorotheus lectures him); St. Isidorus (Isidorus weeps at the table); St. Nathaniel (Nathaniel and a demon, Nathaniel and a demon in the guise of a soldier, Nathaniel mocks the demon); St. Macarios (Macarios talking to the husband of the charmed woman and freeing her of the spell, Macarios heals the woman transformed into a mare, Macarios scolding monks, Macarios healing a possessed man); St. Pachomios (Pachomios lecturing the brethren and Pachomios crossing the river on a crocodile); St. Paul the Simple (Paul finds Anthony, Anthony expels Paul from his hut, Anthony weaves and untangles palm leaves, Paul eating bread with Anthony, Anthony asks Paul to free a young man of demons, Paul orders the devil to free this young man, Paul prays to God and the demon leaves the possessed in the guise of a snake, Paul and Anthony discussing this miracle).

The dome over the south-west bay. In the ribbed calotte are sixteen Old Testament kings: Obed, Jesse, David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ozias, Joatham, Achaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Ammon and Josiah. In the drum are images of Jechoniah, Salathiel, Zorobabel, Abiud, Eliakim, Azor, Sadoch and Achim. On the south-east pendentive is a scene with prophet Isaiah fed by an angel with burning coals on a spoon, on the south-

west is the scene of Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace, on the north-west is prophet Elisha purifying the poisoned waters with salt and on the north-east a cherub offering prophet Ezekiel a scroll; between each pendentive is a medallion with an angel in half-figure. Below the dome, on the south wall, is Lazarus and Poimen and, on the west, Paul of Latros and Memnon.

The dome over the north-west bay contains images of Old Testament patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and his sons Levi, Dan, Gad, Zebulun and Asher. The following scenes are located on the pendentives: Jacob wrestling with the angel (south-east), angels appearing to Samson's parents (south-west), Gideon's Fleece (north-west) and Jacob's dream of a heavenly ladder (north-east). Below the dome, on the west wall, are St. Hilarion, a monk with a scroll and another unknown monk\*\*, another monk without a name and St. Theoktistos; on the north wall are St. Paul of Xeropotamou\*\* and Joseph with a scroll\*\*.

The walls, top register. East wall: Prayer of John Chrysostomos, Crucifixion, Wisdom Hath Builded Her House.

The walls, middle register. East wall: (next to the slightly later portraits of Dušan? and king Stefan Dečanski) the emperor Andronikos III ("Andronikos in Christ God faithful Emperor and sovereign of the Romans Palaiologos")\*\*, St. Sava "the first Serbian Archbishop and ktetor of this holy family" (on the pilaster), the Virgin on a throne with Christ on her lap, surrounded by archangels Michael and Gabriel (above the central entrance), St. Symeon Nemanja ("Hosios Symeon myrrhoblytos and ktetor") (on the pilaster), emperor Andronikos II ("Andronikos in Christ God faithful Emperor and sovereign of the Romans Palaiologos")\*, king Milutin ("Stefan in Christ God faithful King Uroš, and most beloved son-in-law of the mighty and holy Emperor of the Romans Andronikos Palaiologos, and ktetor of this holy monastery") and St. Stephen the Protomartyr\*. South wall: Sts. Eustrathios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios, Orestes, Acindynus (on the pilaster), Pegasios, Aphthonios, Elpidephoros, Anempodistos and Gourias. West wall: Sts. Samonas, Abibus, Cosmas, Damian, John (on the pilaster), Sampson, Diomedes (on the pilaster), Cosmas, Damian, Agathonikos and John. North wall: Sts. Celsius, Protasius, and unknown martyr, Nazarius, an unknown martyr, Vicentius (on the pilaster), Victor, Menas, Andronicos, Tarachus and Probus.

The walls, bottom register. East wall: Sts. Cosmas the Melodos, a half-figure of prophet Isaiah with a scroll (above the north entrance to the naos), the Baptism\*\*, the Virgin (on the pilaster), archangel Gabriel (north of the main entrance to the naos), archangel Michael (south of the entrance), Christ (on the pilaster), John the Prodromos\*\*, St. Athanasios the Athonite, the ktetor's inscription \*\*, (above the south entrance to the naos) and John of Damascus. South wall: Sts. Cosmas (in the doorway are Golgotha crosses with cryptograms  $\overline{\text{TC}}$   $\overline{\text{XC}}$   $\overline{\text{E}}$   $\overline{\text{E}}$   $\overline{\text{E}}$   $\overline{\text{E}}$  and



IC XC Φ X Φ Π T K N K), Damian, Panteleimon\* (on the pilaster), Arthemios, Sisoës, David of Thessaloniki and Zosimus (administering communion to Mary who is painted on the west wall). West wall: St. Mary of Egypt, Sisinnius, Timothy, Neilus, Ephraim the Syriac with a scroll\*\* (on the pilaster), Dorotheus with a scroll (by the entrance), the Virgin with Christ in half-figure on her chest (in the lunette above the entrance), Theonas, Pachomios with a scroll\*\* (on the pilaster), Silvanus, Peter the Athonite, Luke of Stiris, Joasaph (at socle level is a younger fresco of the Virgin in an arcosolium). North wall: Sts. Barlaam, Calynicus, Moses the Ethiopian, Alexios the man of God, Martinianus\*\* (on the pilaster), Nestor (in the doorway are two Golgotha crosses with the letters IC XC N K O T T T Δ Φ T K Π Γ) and Nicetas (at socle level are later frescoes of the Virgin with Christ, Sts. Symeon and Sava in an arcosolium).

Contrary to such a great number of wall paintings present in the katholikon of Hilandar, the number of texts on them is not nearly as great, probably because they were mostly repainted so that attention was focused mainly on the cleaned frescoes. However, documentary material on them has been published in a satisfactory manner. They were catalogued – although not all – by Petković, *La peinture serbe*, II, 18–19 and Petković, *Pregled*, 338–340, and reproductions of them published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 59–80.

From the time before it even became known that there are unrepaired frescoes in the church, notes on them can be found in the writings of D. Avramović, *Sveta Gora sa strane vere, hudožestva i povestnice*, Beograd 1848, 12–15; P. Uspenskij, *Pervoe putešestvie v afonskie monastyri i skyti*, II, Kiev 1877, 25–28; V. Grigorovič-Barskij, *Vtoroe posešćenie svjatoj Afonskoj Gory*, Sankt-Peterburg 1887, 237–238; Sava Hilandarac, *Istorija i opis monastira Hilandara*, Beograd 1894, 14, 37; id., *Sveta Gora*, Beograd 1898, 161–163. The first to display scholarly interest in them was Millet, *Recherches*, 32, 96, 184, 209, 214, 421, 500, 656, 658–659, who was convinced that, in repainting the frescoes, the artists of the XIX century repeated the programme and the iconography of the paintings from the age of king Milutin.

Upon his first visit to Hilandar, S. Radojčić agreed with Millet and, what's more, himself noticed two unrepaired frescoes – the Anapeson and Christ's sermon to the apostles (Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 179–180). Some ten years later, V. J. Djurić wrote much more not only about these paintings but also about some of the other unrepaired frescoes (those around Nemanja's tomb in the south-west bay) and the partly or fully cleaned representations (Birth of the Virgin and St. Panteleimon), Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Hilandar*, 71–83, fig. 17–31. He not only described and studied them well but also dated them to the period between 1318 and 1320, "most proba-

bly 1319", and posed the question of their author. He rejected the possibility that it was Mannuel Panselinos, favoured by the first, already mentioned researchers, and assumed that they could have been painted by Georgios Kalliergis because these Hilandar frescoes reminded him of those from the church of the Saviour at Veria and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki. P. Miljković-Pepk, *Denešnite možnosti za određivanje na avtorite na freskite vo glavnata manastirska crkva na Hilandar*, Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija X/2–3 (1966), 203–218 and Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 230–233, disagreed and suggested, although not explicitly, that the touch of Michael and Eutychios can be discerned on these Hilandar frescoes. He also observed that they resemble the wall paintings of St. Nikita near Skoplje. Although Radojčić was at first inclined to associate the wall paintings of the Hilandar katholikon with those of the Protaton (Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180), he later gave this idea up having recognised that the frescoes from Hilandar are considerably younger in date and did not oppose Djurić's opinion that they could indeed be the work of Kalliergis (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86, 127–128). Even more convinced of Kalliergis's participation in the decoration of Hilandar and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos was Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, 112–121. Without stating explicitly the identity of the painter, A. Tsitouridou pointed out the extraordinarily great resemblance between the katholikon of Hilandar and the mentioned church from Thessaloniki, in both iconography and style (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 111, 121, 124, 126, 263–266 et passim). The new cleaning of frescoes at Hilandar was followed closely by V. J. Djurić and, based on the wall paintings from the south choir, he concluded that, for the moment, we can not claim decidedly that Kalliergis worked in Hilandar. On the other hand, these frescoes strengthened even more his belief that one of the painters from the Thessaloniki church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos did work also on the decoration of the Hilandar katholikon (Djurić, *La peinture de Hilandar*, 31–41, fig. 1–10).

The wall paintings of Hilandar, whether cleaned or under a layer of paint from 1803, were the subject of a number of iconographic studies. Apart from Millet, Djurić, and even Miljković-Pepk, Pelekanidis and A. Tsitouridou, other scholars have also investigated certain frescoes: J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964, 154, wrote about the Birth of the Virgin; the portraits around Nemanja's tomb were studied by B. Todić, *Freska sv. Nikodima iz Hilandara i problem datiranja slikarstva katolikonu*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 91–103; G. Stričević, *The Donor's Composition in Hilandari*, XVIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines, Résumés des communications, II, Moscou 1991, 1129–1130 (associates them with the icon of the Virgin Tricheiroussa); Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Odraž kulta sv. Stefana*, 53 and D. Vojvodić,



*Prilog poznavanju ikonografije i kulta sv. Stefana u Vizantiji i Srbiji*, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, Beograd 1995, 545 et passim, wrote about St. Stephen; G. Babić, *O Prepolovljenju praznika*, Zograf 7 (1976), 24, on the Mid-Pentecost; on holy warriors and monks, J. Radovanović, *Das Mönchtum und Märtyrertum in der Malerei des Klosters Hilandar und das Patriarchats von Peć*, Balcanica XX (1989), 57–64; on the Anapeson, Todić, *Anapeson*, 136 et passim. The same is true also of the themes represented in the narthex: on the Prayer of St. John Chrysostomos, A. Xyngopoulos, *Restitution et interprétation d'une fresque de Chilandar*, Hilendarski zbornik 2 (1971), 93–97; on Gideon's Fleece, J. Radovanović, *Runo Gedeonovo u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, Zograf 5 (1974), 38–42, and on the programme and the iconography of the frescoes in this part of the church, Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 107–111. Following the recent cleaning of the portraits in the narthex, their iconography was studied by Djurić, *Narthex*

*de Chilandar*, 105–121, and they helped him to give a correct dating of the Chilandar frescoes; on them also Babić, *Peintures murales byzantines*, 368.

V. J. Djurić reflected on the decoration of the Chilandar katholikon in two more instances: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74 and Djurić, *Chilandar*, 81–86 (with excellent reproductions). Moreover, he also noticed that even some of the icons, now kept in the monastery treasury, are works of the painters engaged in the decoration of the church with frescoes (Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 81–82). Recently, he returned to them once again and classified the icons and frescoes of Chilandar as classicist creations of Byzantine art of the early XIV century (Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 73). On the frescoes of the katholikon of Chilandar cf. also Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 160 et passim; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 160; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 478, 480 (G. Babić-Djordjević); Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 204; S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 35–37; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική*, 320–332.





## Chilandar

### *Church of the Annunciation*



Not far from the monastery, on the cemetery, rises the church of the Annunciation, constructed in the first years of the XIV century. Its ktetor is unknown but it can be assumed that it was king Milutin because he strove to adorn Chilandar in every way (cf. Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 175–177). According to Athonite, and not only Athonite traditions, large monasteries also included churches in which the bones of the deceased monks were stored and, as a rule, this church was located outside the monastery walls. Even today the ground floor of this Chilandar church serves as an ossuary while an actual church exists on the upper floor. It seems to have been deserted until the XVIII century. It was restored in 1762 and its facades received a new coat of mortar in 1868. Probably in the course of those works, the frescoes in the church were covered with a new layer of mortar. They were discovered only in 1970, cleaned and conserved in 1974, cf. Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 53–57.

The church on the upper floor is vaulted and elongated in form. Through wide arched openings the altar space communicates with the prothesis and the diaconicon. In turn, they communicated with the naos through similar but smaller openings. The iconostasis was located between the two piers under the triumphal arch, now somewhat lowered. The central part of the sanctuary is covered by a barrel vault, there is a recessed arch in front of the apse and groin vaults over the lateral parts of the sanctuary. The walls of the naos are straight, with the main entrance on the south side. The naos was once separated from the narthex by a wall. The narthex had an equally simple shape but underwent many alterations in the meantime. On the architecture of the church cf. S. Nenadović, *Arhitektura Hilandara. Crkve i paraklisi*, *Hilandarski zbornik* 3 (1974), 182–185.

Since there are no written sources, the frescoes in this church can be dated to the period around 1320 only on the basis of their appearance. All frescoes date from the same time. They are mostly preserved in the sanctuary, around the

iconostasis and in the bottom register of the naos. They are all damaged by mallet strikes (B. Živković, *Popis fresko-površina u manastiru Hilandaru*, *Glasnik DKS* 8, 1984, 74).

The painters are unknown.

All inscriptions are in Greek.

The preserved frescoes.

#### *Sanctuary*

Only in the bottom register of the apse there are traces of four figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: of the northernmost figure only traces remain and the beginning of the prayer of the Third Antiphon on his scroll, in front of him is St. Basil with a scroll with the text of the Cherubic hymn and, on the other side, St. John Chrysostomos and another bishop.

On the arch in front of the apse are frontally depicted archangels and, below them, two figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: only the footwear remains of one while the other, on the south side, probably represents St. Cyril of Alexandria because his scroll is inscribed with a specific text of magnification of the Virgin.

On the vault is the Ascension.

The walls of the altar space were also decorated with figures of bishops, all in frontal stances. One appears in half-figure on the south wall and another by the iconostasis, in the passage opening towards the prothesis there are two in half-figure and another two below them, the name has been preserved only by St. Spyridon (on an older layer of mortar under this image there is a drawing of a head of some saint, perhaps St. John the Prodromos). In the passage opening towards the diaconicon there are two half-figures on the soffit of the arch and, further down, two bishops, among whom we find St. Achilleios of Larissa.

Prothesis. At the top of the apse is a half-figure of James brother of the Lord and below him a deacon. On



the vault in front of the apse were half-figures of bishops and we can identify only one as St. Symeon relative of the Lord. Below them are remains of two other bishops. On the soffit of the arched opening leading towards the naos there were also two bishops, one of whom was St. Tarasios. On the north wall, in the upper register, are half-figures of two unknown bishops and, above the window, St. Modestos. Further down are Sts. Clement of Ancyra and Sophronios of Jerusalem. On the south side, on the pier, there was another holy bishop.

Diaconicon. In the apse, only a holy deacon has been preserved. Three bishops stood on the south wall and two on the north.

#### Naos

On the triumphal arch is the Annunciation. Below the figure of archangel Gabriel there is a half-figure of St. Demetrios. In the bottom register, around the iconostasis, were Sts. Peter and Paul.

On the walls, frescoes have been preserved only above the painted socle. The line of saints on the south wall begins with the winged St. John the Prodromos, next to him was St. Theodore of Stoudion with an inscribed scroll, then Stephen the New and two monks. West of the entrance were three other monks, the last of which is St. Macarios (in the window on this wall there is a leaved cross with the letters  $\overline{\Gamma\text{C}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\Delta} \overline{\Pi}$ ). The two saints on the west part of the

north wall represent holy poets. Only the name of St. Cosmas has been preserved. A fragment of a leaved cross remains in the window. By the other window, also decorated with a leaved cross, there were four holy monks.

#### Narthex

Except for a few fragments which are not in their original locations there are no frescoes in the narthex today.

The iconography of the frescoes of the church of the Annunciation has been investigated by Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 52–62, fig. 17–35 and drawing B. The author made a list of the frescoes and published the names of the saints, in cases where they were preserved by the figures, studied their artistic qualities, dated them to the second decade of the XIV century and, based on the images around the iconostasis, assumed that the church was originally dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul. The same scholar returned to these frescoes once again (Djurić, *Chilandar*, 88–92, fig. 67–68, in colour), repeated his earlier conclusions and mentioned that the narthex was once decorated with the Last Judgement (of which there is no proof). At the same time he expanded his assumption concerning Peter and Paul with an interpretation that the appearance of their images indicates the funerary function of the church. These frescoes were briefly considered by G. Babić-Djordjević in: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 478 and S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 83.





## Chilandar

### Refectory



As a part of his generous restoration of Chilandar monastery, it seems that king Milutin also raised a spacious refectory to the west of the katholikon. In the course of the great renovation of the monastery in the XVII century, a flat wooden ceiling was put up in this building and its walls decorated with new frescoes in 1622.

The refectory is a building of rectangular ground plan, with a north-south orientation. There is an apse on each of its narrower sides. It is covered by a pitched roof.

The original frescoes have been preserved only above the flat ceiling from the XVII century, on the north pediment, i.e. a triangular segment of the wall above the apse (B. Živković, *Popis fresko-površina u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 8, 1984, 72). Judging by their style, they date from the same period as the rest of the wall paintings created in the monastery in the days of king Milutin, that is from the close of the second decade of the XIV century (Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 51). They were cleaned in 1976–1979 (B. Živković, *Konzervatorski i restauratorski radovi na živopisu u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 5, 1981, 39).

The author of these frescoes is unknown.  
The inscriptions on them are in Greek.

#### Preserved frescoes.

At the top of the triangular segment of the wall there was an image of Christ with an open book, surrounded by angels in medallions of which only one is better preserved. Three scenes related to the righteous Abraham are arranged in the zone below: the welcoming of the three angels, Hospitality of Abraham and Sacrifice of Abraham.

V. J. Djurić wrote about the XIV century frescoes from the refectory twice: Djurić, *Chilandar*, 88, figs. 66, 69 (in colour) and Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 41–53, fig. 11–16 and drawing A, where he gave a detailed description, published the accompanying inscriptions, considered their iconography and style and dated them to the period around 1320. On these frescoes cf. also *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 478 (G. Babić-Djordjević) and S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 42.



## Chilandar

*Icon of the Presentation of the Virgin  
in the Temple*

The icon (now in the monastery treasury) is painted in tempera on canvass on wood, dimensions 95 x 110 cm. It is damaged along the vertical axis in its left part and minor damages exist also on its right side. The background is gold. In the centre of the painting are representations of Joachim, Anne and the Virgin. Joachim is dressed in a blue hiton and a light violet himation, his left hand is on his chest and his right stretched out towards the infant Mary. Anne is wearing a blue dress with another, red dress over it and a maphorion. She turns towards Joachim and points towards the high priest Zachary. In front of them is the Virgin as a young girl, wearing a blue dress with another, brown dress over it. She stretches both her arms towards Zachary. The high priest is shown standing in front of the open doors of the altar with arms stretched out towards the Virgin. He is wearing a blue dress with a brown hem and another, red dress with wide sleeves and a brown hem over it. His cloak is light green, decorated with ornamental letters. There is a white cap with a red top on his head and olive green shoes on his feet. A tall and wide ciborium whose pyramidal top rests on four dark blue columns with gilded capitels towers over all the figures. On the right side of the icon, the Virgin is shown sitting at the top of the stairs, dressed in the manner already described in facing Zachary. A food-bearing angel, hidden by the ciborium, flies towards her. On the left side of the icon is a tall building with an undulating roof and a large entrance with a curtain tied in a knot. A red vellum hangs between this

building and the ciborium. In the foreground stand seven maidens in two groups arranged one behind the other. They are wearing green, red and violet dresses with gold applications and red shoes. Three girls have scarves on their heads and one transparent veil. All hold lighted candles. Joachim, Anne, the Virgin and the angel have gold halos with dot patterns along their circumferences. The inscription on the icon reads (В)ЪВЕДЕНИЕ (ВЪ) (Х)РА(МЪ).

The icon was apparently created in the second decade of the XIV century and, as an image of the feast day of the church, probably stood on the iconostasis of the katholikon.

It is not signed so that the name of its author remains unknown.

The inscription on the icon is in Serbian.

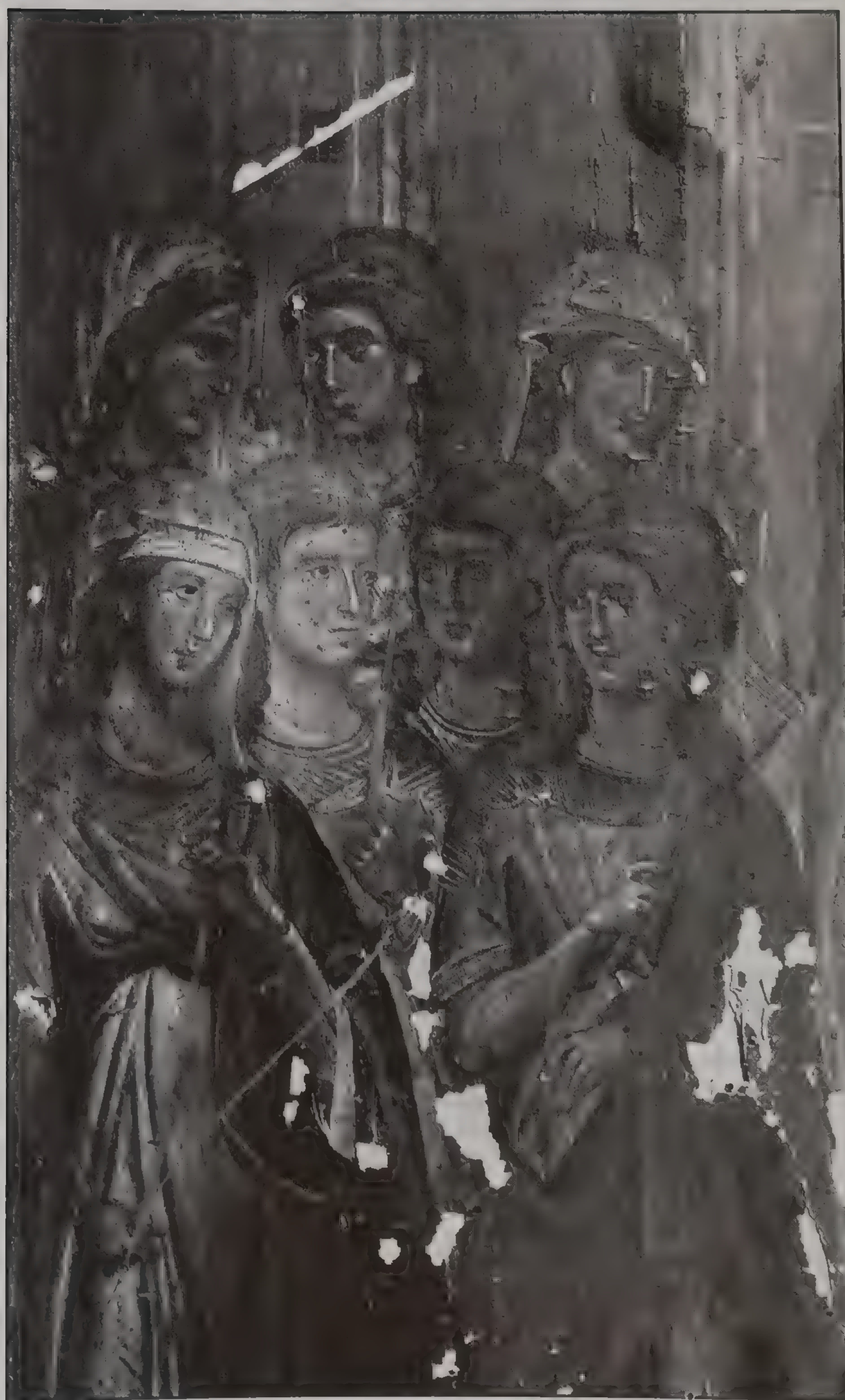
Researchers found this icon split into two parts, now joined together again, and, conservation wise, it has since been treated in a representative manner.

The first to draw attention to this icon was Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 174, fig. 27 who assumed that it once stood on Milutin's iconostasis. It seemed to him that western influences could be observed on the icon so that he compared it to Serbian monuments of the middle and the second half of the XIV century. The same author returned to this icon in several other instances and offered a different dating: Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 73-74, Abb. 11; id., *Ikone Srbije i Makedonije*, Beograd 1961, p.



X;  *Icônes – Sinai, Grèce, Bulgarie, Yougoslavie*, Belgrade 1966, pl. LXVI, CI (S. Radojčić); S. Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1969, 66 (saw in it a reflection of Constantinopolitan classicism in its Serbian variation and looked for resemblances in Bogorodica Ljeviška); V. J. Djurić devoted even more attention to this icon, recording most completely all its features, associating it with the decoration of the Chilandar katholikon and assuming that it could be the work of an artist from Thessaloniki (Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 81–82, fig. 32–33). A while later, he repeated his assessment of its exceptional

qualities, classified it among the best creations of Byzantine painting of the XIV century and singled it out as the most beautiful icon in Chilandar from the age of king Milutin. He also suggested that it could have originally stood under a proskenetaron in the church (Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86–88, figs. 72–73 in colour; cf. also Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 73). Flattering words about this icon have also been published in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 493 (G. Babić-Djordjević); G. Babić, *Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 140; M. Tatić-Djurić, *Poznate ikone od XII–XVIII veka*, Beograd 1984, pl. XIV; S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 45.





## Chilandar

*Icon of an angel*

This icon is badly damaged and the dimensions of the preserved part are 97.5 x 38.5 cm. It is painted in tempera on wood, against a gold background. The angel is shown in full figure, turning to the left, head gently inclined. Dark green is used as a base for his face. The modelling of the face is achieved with strokes of light pink and white and random strokes of red and black, whether in the form of broad patches or thin lines painted over it. The drawing is classicist, harmonious in the ratio of particular elements, the nose of the angel is somewhat elongated and gently curved, lips slightly pouting and eyebrows curved up. The angel's hair is chestnut, curly, with a ribbon above the forehead. His right arm is bent at the elbow and pressed against his chest. He is wearing a reddish brown monk's habit with three small red crosses clearly visible on it. The icon is now kept in the monastery treasury.

It was probably painted around 1320 because it is very similar to the frescoes of the katholikon, created around that time, and there is almost no doubt that it is the work of the same artists. Its original location is not known and it was probably a part of a larger ensemble.

No inscription is preserved on the icon.

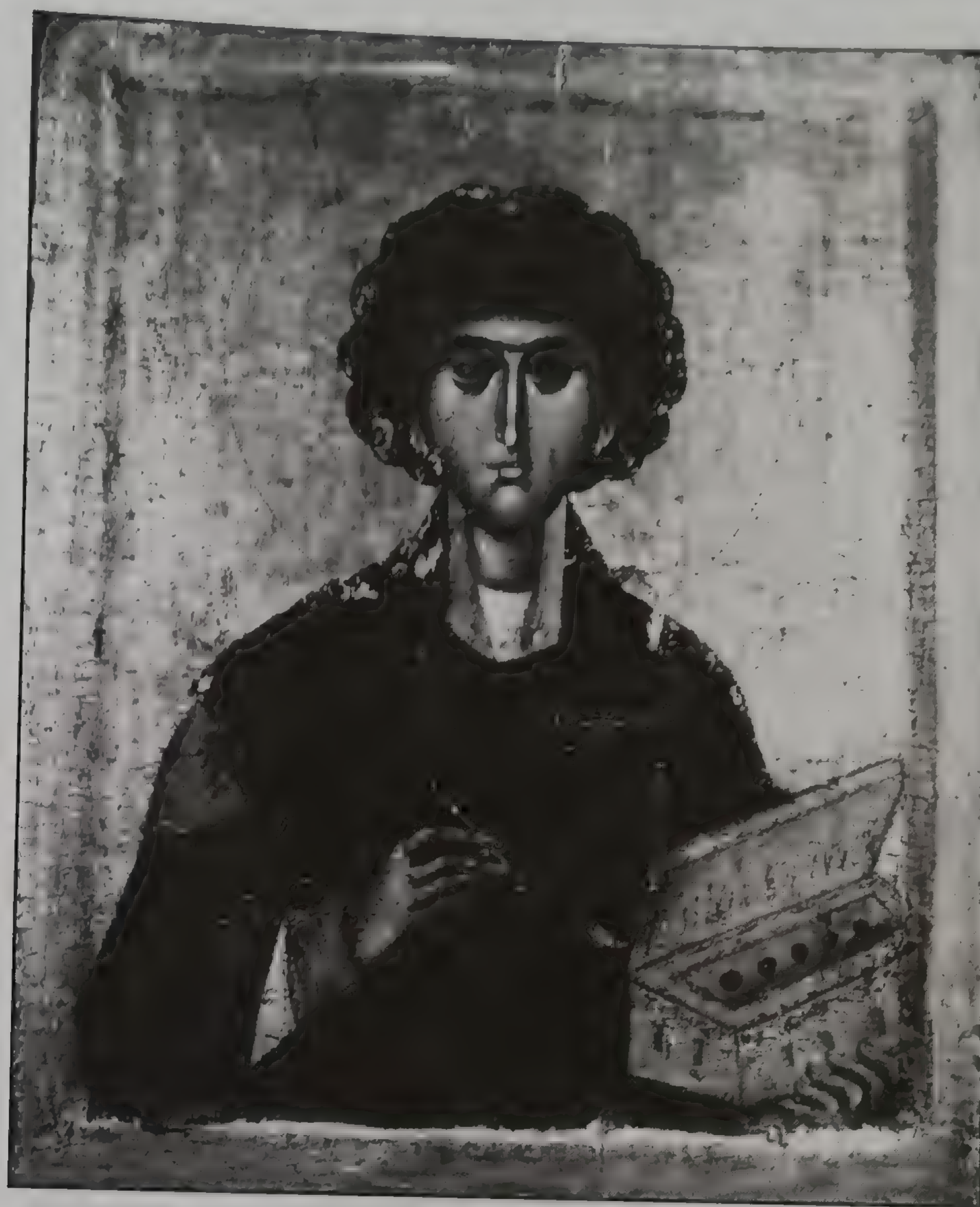
The name of its author is unknown.

It was discovered, described (including elements which differ from our description) and published by Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 82, fig. 34–35. He associated it rightfully with the frescoes in the katholikon. The same author reflected on this icon once more: Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, 88. Its iconography has not been investigated.



Chilandar

*Icon of St. Panteleimon*



The well preserved icon of St. Panteleimon (O AΓΙOC ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ), dimensions 40.50 x 33.80 cm, is painted on canvass on wood. A half-figure of the saint is shown against a gold background with his right hand raised to his chest. With the tips of the fingers of this hand he holds a scalpel and in his right, lowered hand an open medicine box. His face is oval, with gentle transitions from a dark green shadow into a warm ochre. His eyes are almond shaped and slightly slanted, his eyebrows curved upward, his nose long and straight and his mouth small. Thick, dark, curly hair falls a little below the ears. He is wearing a white sticharion with tight red epimanikia and a greenish himation with a red ornament on his right shoulder and an equally red collar. A dark blue, almost violet cloak is worn over all these clothes. The flesh is modelled by using a warm ochre with dark shadows on the neck, around the outline of the face, under the eyebrows and the eyes and around the nose. The illuminated surfaces – on the hands, the neck, under the eyes and on the chin – are accentuated with light, distinctive strokes. Gold is used quite seldom, in the form of thin lines on the clothes and on the medicine box. The icon is now kept in the monastery treasury.

It was created probably in the first years of the XIV century.

Its author is unknown.

The inscription is in Greek.

This icon was first noted by Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173, who also wrote about it later on: Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 72, Abb. 8; S. Radojčić, *Ikone Srbije i Makedonije*, Beograd 1961, p. X, pl. 8; *Ikone s Balkana*, Beograd 1966, pp. LXV, XCVIII, pl. 177; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, pl. XXXVI (inclined to see in it a Constantinopolitan work of the first years of the XIV century). However, Djurić, *Chilandar*, 64, fig. 47 offered a slightly earlier dating, to the close of the XIII century, compared it to the frescoes of Arilje and assumed that its author could have come from Thessaloniki: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 425 (V. J. Djurić); M. Tatić-Djurić (*Poznate ikone od XII–XVIII veka*, Beograd 1984, s. p., pl. 9) agrees that it was created in the last decades of the XIII century, although she suggests Constantinople as the place of its origin, while S. Petković (*Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 45, Abb. 10) is of the opinion that it was painted at the turn of the century, i.e. around the year 1300.



Chilandar

*Icon of Christ*



The icon (now in the treasury of the monastery) is painted in tempera on wood, dimensions 132 x 100 cm. It shows a half-figure of Christ blessing with his right hand while holding a closed gospel book with decorated covers in his left. He is wearing a light violet hiton with a clavus on the right shoulder and a dark blue himation. His hair is chestnut and finely combed. He has a short, fair coloured beard. The colour of the flesh is light, especially on the forehead, the cheekbones, neck and hands, with barely visible shadows. He is marked with red letters  $\overline{\text{TC}}$   $\overline{\text{XC}}$  against a gold background.

This icon is probably a work from the second decade of the XIV century. It is possible that it once stood on the iconostasis of the katholikon.

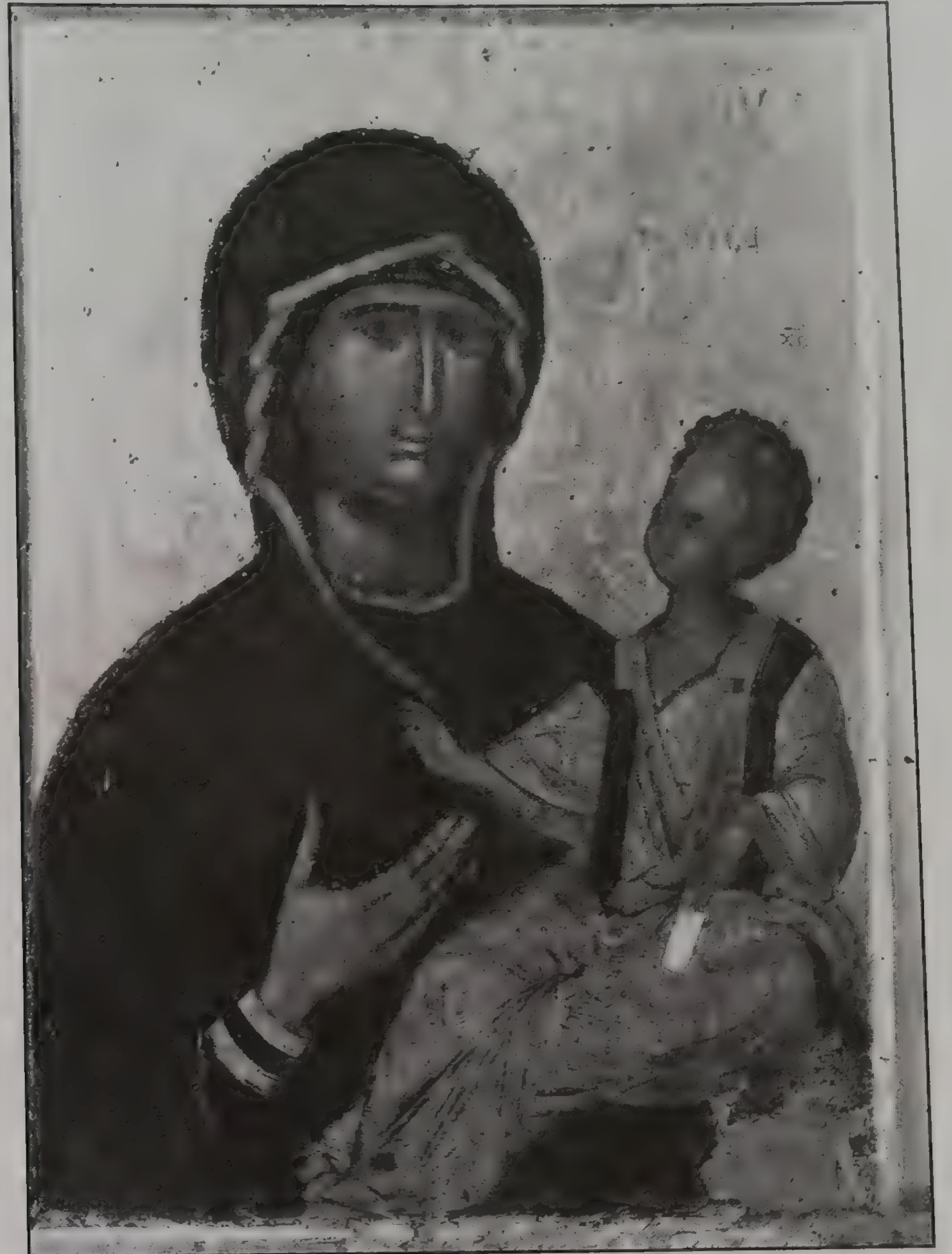
Its author is unknown.

Not much has been written about this icon. It was mentioned by Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173, and its reproduction published by Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, fig. 72 who assumed that it was once a despotic icon on the iconostasis of the katholikon. Cf. also *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 493 (G. Babić-Djordjević).



Chilandar

*Icon of the Virgin Eleoussa*



The icon is painted in tempera on canvass on wood (124 x 112 cm), against a gold background. The Virgin (ΜΡ ΘΥ ΕΛΕΟΥΣΑ) shown from the waist up with Christ (ΙC XC) on her left arm, is depicted in a frontal stance, turning slightly towards Christ to whom she points with her right hand. The infant Christ lifts his head slightly towards Mary, blesses with his right and in his left hand holds a rolled-up scroll resting against his left leg. The Virgin is wearing a dark violet maphorion with edges trimmed with a reddish-gold band and a blue dress with horizontal gold applications under it. The head scarf is also blue with radially arranged gold lines. Christ is wearing a light green hiton, a dark blue sydon and a yellow himation with threads of gold. The scroll in his hand is white on the bottom and red on the top. Olive is the predominant colour used in rendering flesh, with fine transitions into somewhat darker shadows and white lighted patches. Details around the eyes, the eyebrows, nose and hair are created with fine

strokes of brown and lips are rendered in cinnabar. The inscriptions are written out in red paint. The icon is now kept in the treasury of the monastery.

Tiny wholes in the icon attest that it once had a metal revetment. Its state of preservation is excellent and recently it has also been cleaned.

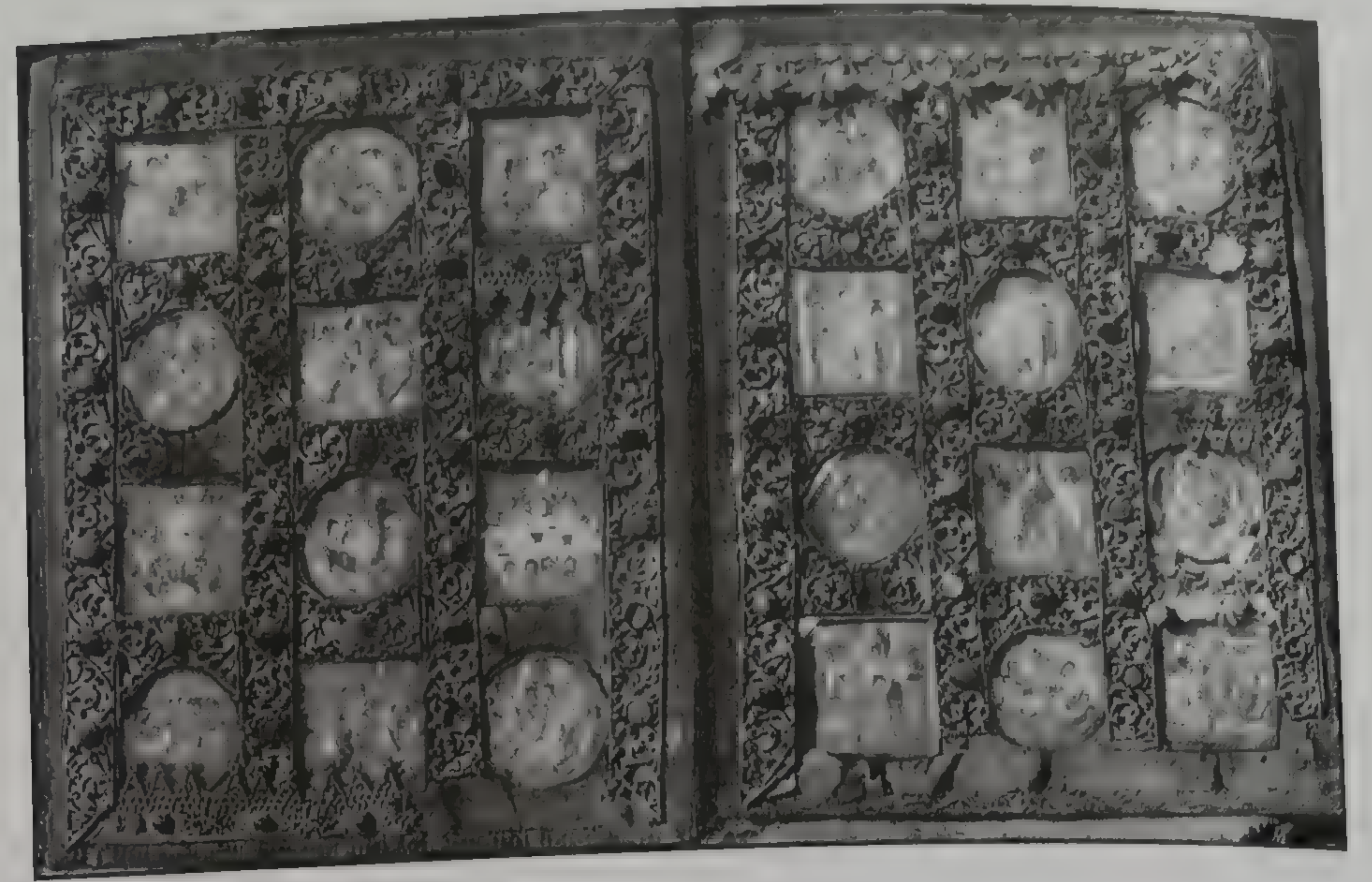
It was created probably at the same time as the icon of Christ, in the first decades of the XIV century, perhaps for the iconostasis of the katholikon.

Its author is unknown.

The icon was only mentioned by Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173, while Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, determined the dating and assumed that it used to be a despotic icon in the katholikon, cf. also Π. Λ. Βοκοτόπουλος, *Ελληνική τέχνη. Βυζαντινές εικόνες*, Αθήνα 1995, 214, εικ. 99 and *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 493 (G. Babić-Djordjević).



## Chilandar

*Dyptich with miniatures*

Twenty four compartments, circular (4.50 cm) and rectangular (5.50 x 4.50 cm) in alternation, are distributed on two wooden panels (29 x 24 cm), twelve on each. Each compartment contains a miniature painted on parchment. The scenes are painted against a gold background, decorated with tiny pearls and protected by pieces of polished rock crystal. The spaces between the miniatures are filled with silver and gold filigree and semiprecious stones on a gold leaf base. On the left wing of the dyptich are representations of: the Annunciation, Nativity and Adoration of the Magi in the first row; Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Baptism and Raising of Lazarus in the second row; Transfiguration, Entry into Jerusalem and Last Supper in the third row; Washing of the Feet, Betrayal of Judas and Christ Before Pilate in the fourth row. The right wing of the dyptich has representations of: the Mocking of Christ, Flagellation and Christ Before the Cross in the first row; Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross and Holy Women at the Sepulchre in the second row; Descent into Hades, Christ appearing to the myrrhophores and Incredulity of Thomas in the third row; Ascension, Descent of the Holy Spirit and Mission of the Apostles in the fourth row.

The dyptich was created in one of the workshops of Venice in the last years of the XIII century. The time it reached Chilandar is not known. It may have been a gift from king Milutin, presented along with similar works which are now kept in the Athonite monastery of St. Paul.

Some of the miniatures have Latin inscriptions. It has been established that three different painters worked on these miniatures.

The group of art works of which the Chilandar dyptich is a part is quite well studied: F. W. Volbach, *Venetian-Byzantine Works of Art in Rome*, The Art Bulletin XXIX/2 (1947), 86–94; P. Toesca, *Un capolavoro*

*dell'oreficeria veneziana della fine del Duecento*, Arte Veneta V (1951), 15–20; H. R. Hahnloser, *Das Venezianer Kristallkreuz in Bernischen Historischen Museum*, Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historisches Museum XXXIV (1954), 35–47; P. Huber, *Image et message. Miniatures byzantines de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, Zurich 1975. On the dyptich in the monastery of St. Paul cf. F. Dölger – E. Weigand – A. Deindl, *Mönchsland Athos*, München 1943, 164–167.

The first to notice the Chilandar dyptich was D. Avramović, *Opisanje drevnostij srbski u Svetoj (Atonskoj) Gori*, Beograd 1847, 3, while a reproduction and a short description of it was published by L. Mirković, *Hilandarske starine*, Starinar X–XI (1936), 87–92. The scholar who drew attention to it again was S. Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173, and a while later he treated it in a monographic manner, S. Radojčić, *Hilandarski diptih. Novi prilog poznavanju mletačke minijature kasnog XIII veka*, Glas SAN CCXXXIV, Odeljenje društvenih nauka 7 (1959), 49–54: he described it, dated it to the last years of the XIII century and compared it to similar works in European collections and museums, pointed out the mixture of Byzantine and western elements in the iconography of the miniatures and ascertained the participation of three different artists in their painting. Great attention was devoted to the Chilandar dyptich also by P. Huber, *Image et message*, 143–150, who published reproductions of all the miniatures and compared them to other similar works. The dyptich and its miniatures were also described and published in *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, Athens 1975, 392–394, fig. 432–443. On his part, Djurić, *Chilandar*, 96, figs. 3, 74, assumed that this dyptich from Chilandar, together with another similar dyptich, a wooden cross and a panel with miniatures, now in the monastery of St. Paul, reached Chilandar as gifts of king Milutin.



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Abbreviations

Index of Names

Topographic Index

Iconographic Index



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## ABBREVIATIONS

Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi*

*L'art byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*

*L'art de Thessalonique*

Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*

Babić, *Les chapelles*

Babić, *Les croix*

Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*

Babić, *Nizovi portreta*

Babić, *O jednom vidu investiture vladara*

Babić, *Peintures murales byzantines*

Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*

Babić, *Studenica*

Babić, *Sušica*

Babić, *Živopisani ukras*

Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*

Bornert, *Les commentaires*

Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih* (translated by L. Mirković), Beograd 1935

*L'art byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Symposium de Sopoćani 1965, Beograd 1967

*L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Recueil des rapports du IV<sup>e</sup> colloque serbo-grec, Belgrade 1985), Belgrade 1987

D. Panić – G. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, Beograd 1975

G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantine*, Paris 1969

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RBK

REB

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